$1.95

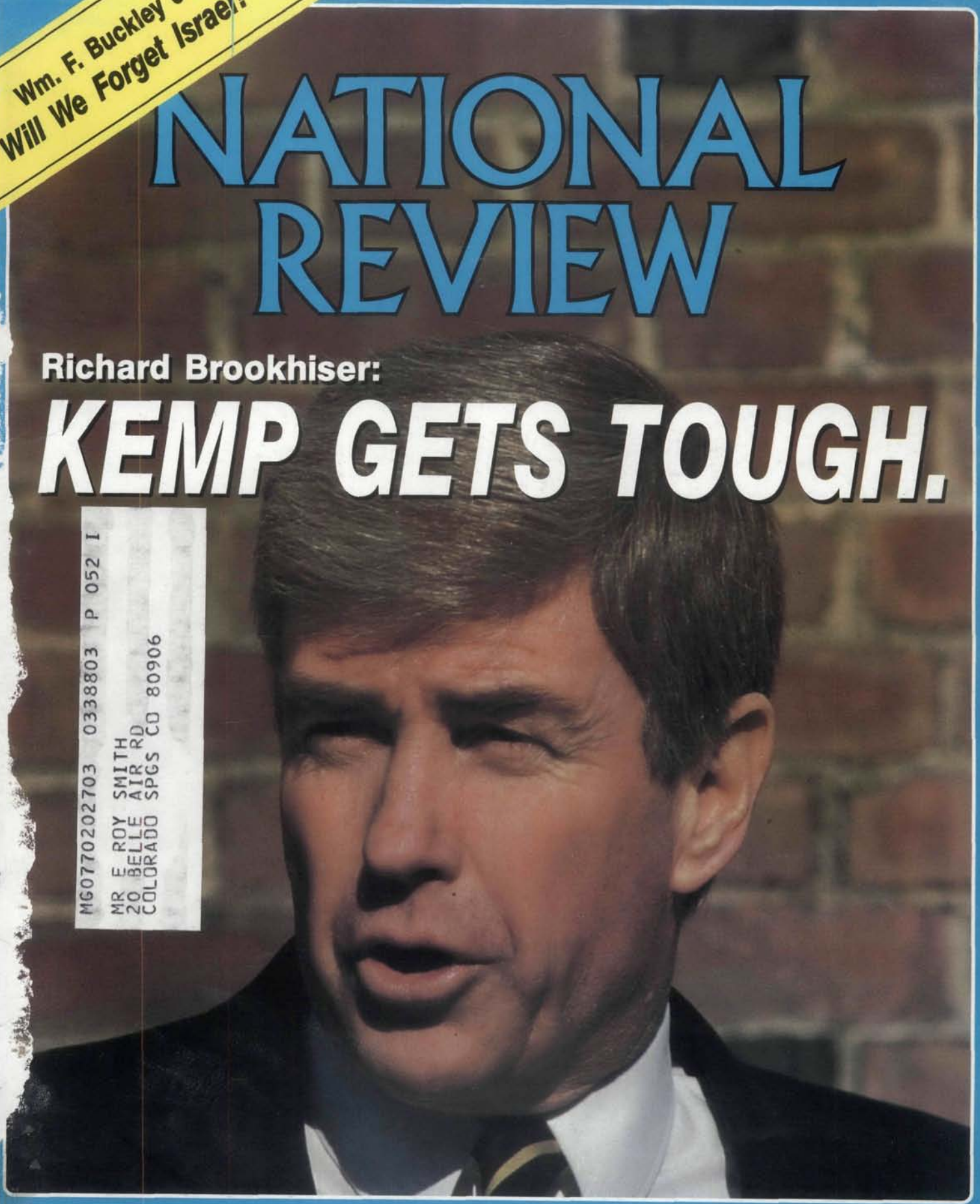
FEBRUARY 19, 1988

Wm. F. Buckley Jr.
Will We Forget Israel?

NATIONAL REVIEW

Richard Brookhiser:

KEMP GETS TOUGH.



MG07702027O3 0338803 P 052 I
MR E ROY SMITH
20 BELLE AIR RD
COLORADO SPGS CO 80906

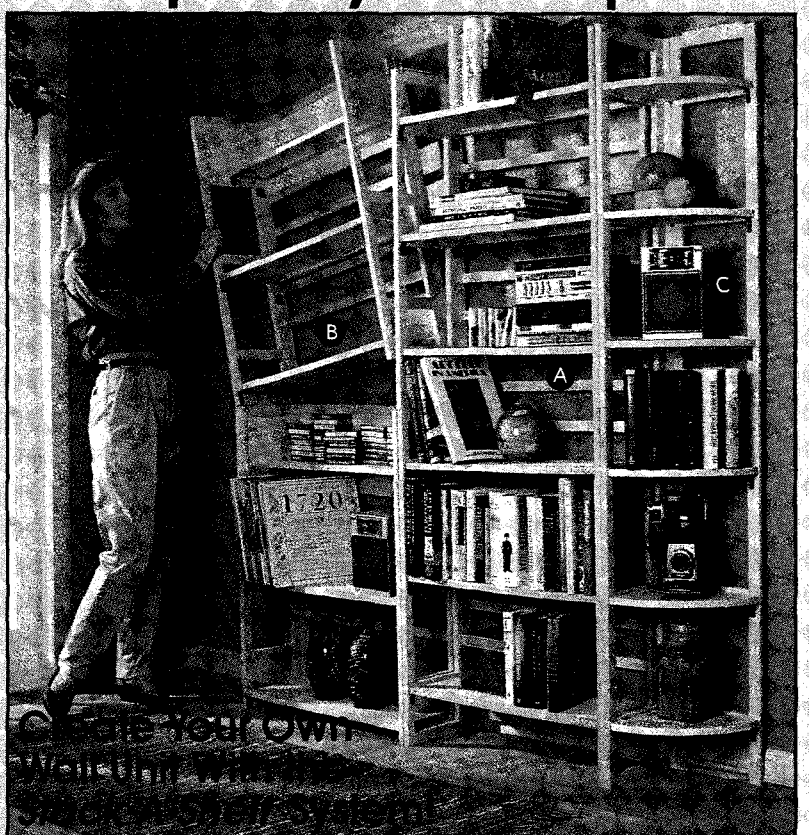
08
0 73361 64544

Patricia B. Bozell on the Secret of Solidarity

• *TOM BETHELL ON INF: THE UNTOLD STORY* •

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STACKABLE BEECHWOOD BOOKSHELVES
At a price you'd expect to pay for plastic



STACK-A-SHELF is the most versatile shelving system you'll even own. Choose from any of three styles—the ***Basic Bookshelf***, the specially designed **Record and Cassette Rack**, or, for the finishing touch, the **Corner Unit**—and start stacking!

Stack Them...They're Interlocking

Every unit is designed to stack and interlock securely with the others, so you can actually create your own wall unit. For example, stack the bookshelf on the record and cassette rack and you've got an entertainment center sturdy enough to hold your stereo, 400 records and 120 cassettes, yet attractive enough to rival shelving systems sold for twice the price. If you move, just fold them up and take them with you—they're free-standing and portable.

A Beautiful Complement to Any Decor

This quality shelving system is made of natural European beechwood—a hardwood tough enough to be used for flooring and beautiful enough to be used in fine furniture.

STACK-A-SHELF has a place in every room, whether it's to show off your library or just to organize unsightly clutter. And the STACK-A-SHELF system is perfect for showcasing your personal treasures. Everything from vases to pictures can be proudly displayed on these good-looking, versatile and above all, affordable units. You can even paint, stain or varnish your STACK-A-SHELF system to match your own decorating needs.

3 STYLES TO CHOOSE— NEW LOW PRICE

The Basic Bookshelf
A ONLY $ 39.95
LIST $59.95

Perfect for books, display or storage. Sturdy, stackable, sets up without tools and is completely portable. Each unit measures 27¼"w×37"h×11½"d.

The Record & Cassette Rack
B ONLY $ 39.95
LIST $59.95

A practical and inexpensive solution to the problem of your ever-expanding collection. Holds up to 400 records and 120 cassettes. Each unit measures 27¼"w×37"h×11½"d.

The Corner Unit
C ONLY $ 29.95
LIST $44.95

The finishing touch for your Stack-A-Shelf unit or decorative corner piece—ideal for that little corner in your home or apartment. Each unit measures 37½"h×11¼"d.

Sets Up In Seconds ...Without Tools!

No tools, screws or glue required. Just take the unit out of its flat carton, fold the sides out and the shelves practically fall into place. Nothing could be easier. And, for a limited time, Barnes & Noble is offering all our STACK-A-SHELF units at a savings of **33% off the retail price.** So don't pile—decorate in style. With affordable beechwood shelving from **Barnes & Noble.**

1. Comes in flat carton

2. Slides open on hinges

3. Shelves fall into place.

For Faster Service!

Credit Card Customers Call Toll Free

1-800-228-3535

In Nebraska 1-800-642-9606

24 Hours-7 Days a week

Barnes & Noble Unconditional Guarantee
You must be completely satisfied with every item you order from Barnes & Noble by mail, or you may return it to us, for a full refund.

Barnes & Noble

Booksellers Since 1873

126 FIFTH AVENUE DEPT K253 NY, NY 10011

	Qty.	Item #	Style	Our Price	Total
A		#1066018	**Original Bookshelf**	**$39.95**	
B		#1288893	**Record & Cassette Rack**	**$39.95**	
C		#1110139	**Corner Unit**	**$29.95**	

Merchandise Total

NY, NJ, PA and MA residents Please add sales tax

Please include $6.95 **per unit** to cover shipping and insurance.

ORDER TOTAL

NAME

ADDRESS APT.#

CITY/STATE/ZIP

SIGNATURE

☐ CHECK OR MONEY ORDER ENCLOSED

☐ AMERICAN EXPRESS EXP. DATE

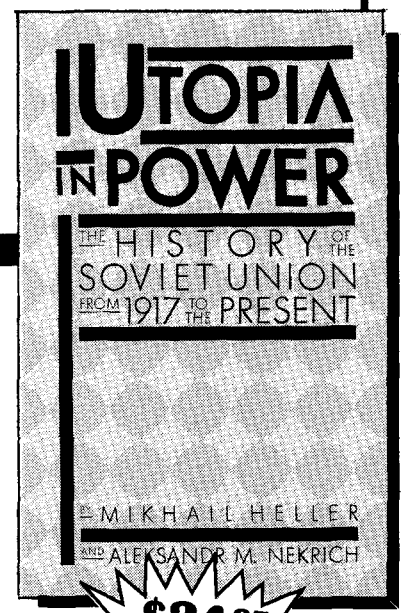
☐ MASTERCARD ☐ VISA MO./YR.

CREDIT CARD NUMBER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The most complete and without doubt the most satisfying history of the USSR now available"

—Le Monde



$24.95 — yours FREE

Communism in Russia: are you weak on the details of its brutal 70 years? Have you been looking for a good history, reliably anti-Communist? Then seek no farther. In the words of the great anti-Communist scholar, Robert Conquest of the Hoover Institution:

"Conveys more of the essence and life of Soviet history than a dozen products of academic political science."

With good reason. Historians Mikhail Heller and Aleksandr Nekrich spent most of their lives in the Soviet Union, lived through most of these events, experienced the texture of life in the Empire of Evil, and only now, free in the West, are they able to publish their magnum opus. First acclaimed when it appeared in France, West Germany and Italy (and in an underground Polish edition), it is now winning equal praise from major American publications and experts on Soviet Russia:

"The best history of the Soviet Union now in print in any language."—Walter Laqueur, Center for Strategic and International Studies

"Marvelous . . . It has two main themes. The first is the effort of the Communist Party to subjugate state and society. The second is the continuing resistance to that effort . . . immensely powerful and rewarding . . . Many aspects of Soviet history are portrayed in a new light."—*New York Times*

"Massive, compelling, highly readable . . . Marshalling a prodigious array of primary sources, they shed fresh light on scores of events and people, from the Bolsheviks' use of terror . . . to Brezhnev's creation of his personality cult. Viewing the Soviet system as fundamentally irrational, built on one-man leadership, incapable of internal reform, the authors throw down a gauntlet to liberal-left historians."—*Publishers Weekly*

"Outstanding."—Adam B. Ulam, Director, Russian Research Center

"The first history of the USSR which combines the insights and knowledge of an insider with the distance and access to vital documentation of the foreigner. There is a wealth of new detail and the whole is remarkable for the freshness of attack. No one else yet has woven the whole story together in a great tapestry of a narrative that is sober, carefully documented, and very readable indeed. This will become a standard history to be kept in print for many years. Anyone remotely concerned with Russia will have to read this book."—Edward Crankshaw, author of *Russia and the Russians*

877 pages ☐ 32-page subject and proper-name index ☐ 26-page bibliography: books, articles, periodicals ☐ 62 pages of documentation ☐ Valuable for laymen: 25-page Chronology of all the key events in Soviet history

How to get this $24.95 "best history of the Soviet Union" FREE

How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing; it will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection, or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books will be offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 3 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-90% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation but do enable you to buy fine books at giveaway prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

15 OAKLAND AVENUE HARRISON, N.Y. 10528

Please accept my membership in the Club and send FREE the $24.95 *Utopia in Power: The History of the Soviet Union from 1917 to the Present* by M. Heller & A. Nekrich. I agree to buy 3 additional books at regular Club prices over the next 18 months. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon.

NR-140

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FEBRUARY 19, 1988
VOL. XL, NO. 3

NATIONAL REVIEW

BROOKHISER 28

BETHELL 32

SOBRAN 55

WILLIAMSON 58

ELECTION '88

28 Kemp at the Crossroads
On the eve of the New Hampshire primary, Jack Kemp's campaign starts to take off. Conservative backbiting continues, but Kemp remains the conservative movement's best hope for 1988. *Richard Brookhiser*

ARTICLES & COLUMNS

26 '88 Hill Antics
The President may be able to use the deficit to force Congress to bite the bullet instead of the taxpayer. *John McLaughlin*

32 Arms Control: The Untold Story
The rules of the game are simple: ignore reality. *Tom Bethell*

38 AIDS and Right-Wing Hysteria
Ten-yard penalty: unnecessary roughness. *John Woolman*

39 The Secret of Solidarity
The Polish people's steel core, tempered by the Church, remains indestructible. *Patricia B. Bozell*

42 Hooey in the Seminar
Attend a college seminar—take a tour through the Mausoleum of the Mind. *Jeffrey Hart*

46 Religion and Psychology
The churches are selling their heritage for a mess of psychobabble. *Richard John Neuhaus*

BOOKS ARTS & MANNERS

50 **Thomas Fleming** launches a pre-emptive nuclear strike on *Cultural Conservatism*, edited by William Lind and William Marshner. . . . **Brian Crozier** gets no satisfaction from Mikhail Gorbachev's *Perestroika*. . . . **John P. Roche** says that in *The Key to Failure: Laos and the Vietnam War*, Norman B. Hannah fails to reckon with the two forces that guaranteed U.S. failure in Vietnam: LBJ and McNamara. . . . In *Egalitarian Envy: The Political Foundations of Social Justice*, Gonzalo Fernández de la Mora has the beef, but it's a bit too spicy for **Joseph Sobran**. . . . **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.** finds that Malcolm Muggeridge's just anger serves deeper truth in his classic novel, *Winter in Moscow*. . . . Alexander Theroux grows ever more fun, challenging, and nasty in *An Adultery*, says **J. O. Tate**. . . . **Ralph de Toledano** salutes the righteous Art Hodes and the dynamic Dick Wellstood, and even puts in a good word for swing. . . . **D. Keith Mano** hangs out with Evil Rock, the band that never went anywhere.

6 LETTERS
12 FOR THE RECORD
14 THE WEEK
44 hello
48 ABROAD
58 THE RIGHT BOOKS
64 ON THE RIGHT
66 TRANS-O-GRAM

Cover design and photograph by Charles Bork

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. and additional mailing offices. © National Review, Inc., 1988. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editors, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct all display advertising questions to The Leadership Network at 212-684-5500.

RATES: $36.00 a year (25 issues). Add $11.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How junk bonds helped provide 50,000 people with a living room and 20,000 people with a living.

They helped by providing Hovnanian Enterprises with the capital they needed to develop affordable family housing. Capital they would've had a hard time getting from commercial banks. Or any place else, for that matter. Because Hovnanian, like 95% of all American companies with annual sales in excess of $25 million, was considered non-investment grade, or "junk," by the major bond rating agencies.

The fact is, without high yield bonds provided by Drexel Burnham, Hovnanian would still be a small, family run construction company. Instead of the second largest developer of for-sale multifamily homes in the country.

To date, Hovnanian has built more than 20,000 condominiums, townhouses and single family homes throughout New York, New Jersey, Florida and New Hampshire. Planned residential communities that have become so synonymous with quality affordable housing that they typically sell out in a single weekend. Making them the envy of the housing industry. Not to mention the place where 20,000 people have made their living. And 50,000 people have made their home.

Drexel Burnham
Helping People Manage Change

Member SIPC © 1987 Drexel Burnham Lambert Incorporated

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NR
NATIONAL REVIEW

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor*
William A. Rusher *Publisher*
James P. McFadden
Consultant to the Editor

Editors
Richard Brookhiser / Priscilla L. Buckley
Jeffrey Hart / Joseph Sobran
Chilton Williamson Jr.

Linda Bridges *Managing Editor*
Maggie Gallagher *Article Editor*
John McLaughlin *Washington Editor*

Associate Publisher
Edward A. Capano

Contributing Editors
Tom Bethell / Brian Crozier
W. H. von Dreele / Nika Hazelton
D. Keith Mano / Richard John Neuhaus
John Simon / Ralph de Toledano
Ernest van den Haag / Timothy J. Wheeler

Associates
Mark Q. Cunningham / Peter J. Garvey
David Klinghoffer / Jane Buckley Smith

Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*
Dorothy McCartney *Research Director*
John J. Virtes *Librarian*
Ione Whitlock *Production Editor*
Patricia L. Sarch *Art Associate*
Lacey Washington *Copy Editor*
Rose Flynn DeMaio *Treasurer*
Patricia B. Bozell *Special Projects Editor*

Advertising Director
Robert F. Sennott Jr.

Promotion Manager
Sylvia Wolinsky

Circulation Manager
Jason Ng

Contributors
Aram Bakshian Jr. / David Brooks
David Brudnoy / Christopher Buckley
John Chamberlain / Mona Charen
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Mary Gauerke / George Gilder
Victor Gold / Donald Hall
Malcolm Hancock / Henry Hazlitt
Charles R. Kesler / John Kiley
James Jackson Kilpatrick / Nicholas King
Jan Lukas / Forrest McDonald
Charles Burton Marshall / Jeffrey Meyers
Thomas Molnar / Joe Mysak
Gerhart Niemeyer / Michael Novak
Grover Rees III / Alan Reynolds
William F. Rickenbacker / Selden Rodman
Francis Russell / J. O. Tate
Terry Teachout / S. L. Varnado
Richard Vigilante / Charles Wallen Jr.

Foreign Contributors
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Donald Coxe *Toronto*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*
Richard Carpenter *Athens*

LETTERS

Not Being Heard

As a staunch conservative and a meticulous follower of the Republican presidential campaign, I unhappily concur with *NR*'s two "Election '88" articles in the last issue [Feb. 5]—"Bush on the Brink" and "And They're Off!" As Mr. Brookhiser says, it seems as though George Bush knows "every Republican in America personally." This, along with his impressive-looking résumé, shiny and affable demeanor, and multi-stance approach to issues, makes him the perfect modern-day candidate. Too bad Jack Kemp does not have the same shiny and affable demeanor to go along with his hard-line and outspoken views. Kemp is the only real conservative in the field, but he will not "be the next Goldwater or . . . Reagan."

Mr. Mann's assertion that "neither George Bush nor Robert Dole is running against the conservative movement; in fact, they are both courting it" is correct —as, sadly, is what he goes on to say: Dole and Bush are patronizing us for our vote. Come January 1989, they will shed any remaining conservative ideas.

Just a short note about Brian Crozier's "Kremlin Soliloquy" in the same issue. If only the rest of the country knew that Mr. Crozier's depiction of Mr. Gorbachev is really quite accurate, that he is really not everyone's lovable grandfather as he appears to be, perhaps the U.S. would not be so divided in trying to stop the spread of this truly "evil empire." Someday maybe there will be 220 million *NR* readers. Hats off to another good issue.

Tom Harrington
St. Louis, Mo.

Not on the Dole

I realize that your magazine has never been particularly fond of Bob Dole, but Richard Brookhiser's article "Why Dole Can't Do It" [Dec. 4] was something I would expect, not of *NR*, but of the *Washington Post*. The main point of his story is that, when answering questions at public appearances, Dole does not portray everything in black and white, except for issues like abortion, the Persian Gulf, deficit reduction, Contra aid, and agriculture. Dole opponents seem to keep dragging up TEFRA '82, which Brookhiser claims sabotaged Reaganism. Yet, the *Congressional Quarterly* gives Dole a higher presidential-support score than Kemp. This suggests that Dole sticks with the Reagan agenda rather than just voting with him on a few highly visible issues. George Bush has been a loyal follower, but Bob Dole has been a capable leader. This is why he will be our next President.

Jay Scheiner
Rockville, Md.

NR is the most influential conservative publication in the world, and I have no doubt that it will continue in that role for many years to come. I also have no doubt that I'll continue to subscribe. But I must lodge a complaint about the unfair treatment you have accorded to Senator Bob Dole.

In recent months, *NR* has twice dedicated cover stories to leading Republican candidates for President: Kemp and Bush both benefited from lengthy and flattering profiles written by someone in their respective camps. So what do you do for Bob Dole? You assign his "cover story" to a writer who obviously doesn't support Dole (he called him "Old Scratch" and compared him to Richard III), and whose entire story is built around the theory that Dole can't win.

Surely *NR* can do better by Bob Dole. If you can't find a reporter who is willing to do an objective piece on his candidacy, then at least do for him what you did for Kemp and Bush: ask one of his supporters to write it.

And before one of your bright young staffers, bubbling over with "new ideas" and sporting one of those Adam Smith neckties, decides to toss out this letter, try to imagine how much of Ronald Reagan's program would have gotten through Congress without Old Scratch doing what had to be done.

Eric Yost
Kansas Senate
Wichita, Kan.

The two articles on Kemp and Bush (Aug. 14 and Nov. 6) were submitted unsolicited by supporters of the respective candidates. NR *has, as yet, received no similar piece from a champion of Senator Dole.* —MG

Consoling

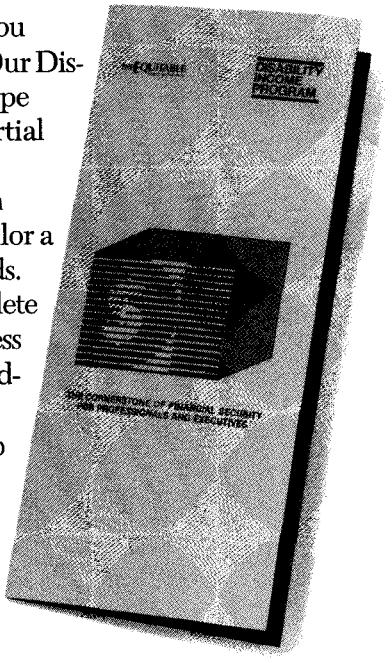
I have admired Russell Kirk's writing and thinking for years. His recent *NR*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARE YOU AS SMART ABOUT PROTECTING YOUR INCOME AS YOU ARE ABOUT MAKING IT?

What would happen if you were unable to earn a living for a month? What about three months? That's the average length of a disability, and the odds of it occuring during your productive years are too great to ignore.

Fortunately, The Equitable can offer you financial security if you're ever disabled. Our Disability Income Insurance can help you cope with inflation, receive benefits during partial disabilities or guarantee you the right to increase your coverage even if your health changes. Equitable Agents will custom tailor a Disability Income plan to meet your needs.



What's more, they can offer you a complete range of products and services like Business Overhead Expense, catastrophic Major Medical, Interest Sensitive Life Insurance, Retirement Plans and Mutual Funds to help you meet all your financial goals as well.

So call 1-800-782-9355 or send in the coupon for more information on how to protect and build your income. You'll be surprised at all your Equitable Agent can do for you.

To: J.S. Kalmer, Vice President
The Equitable
Box 2455, General Post Office
New York, N.Y. 10116

Please send me full details of Equitable's Disability Income Insurance program.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip Code _____

Phone Number ( ) _____

12NR02198

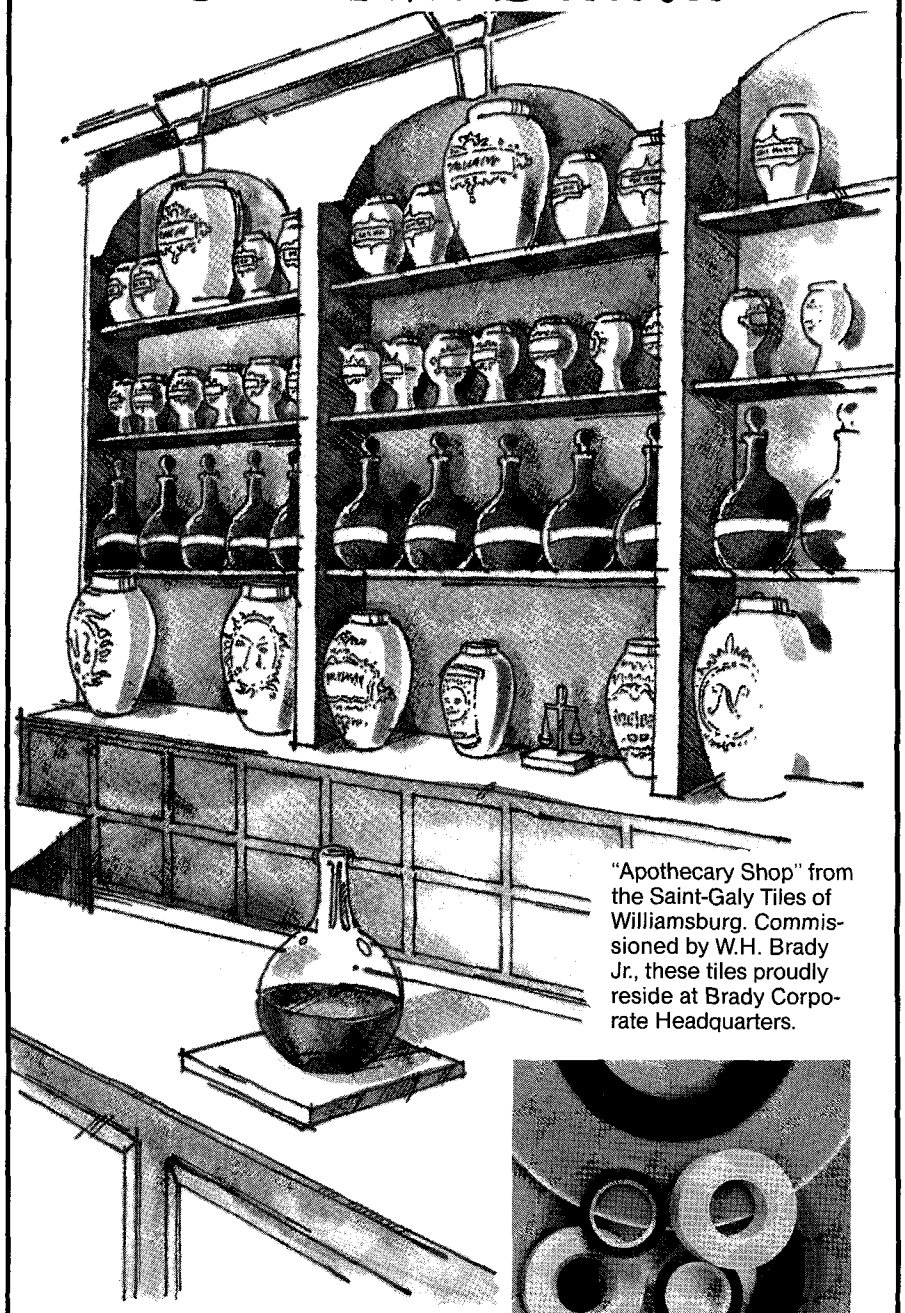
The EQUITABLE
Financial Companies
Health Insurance Products

WE HAVE GREAT PLANS FOR YOU.

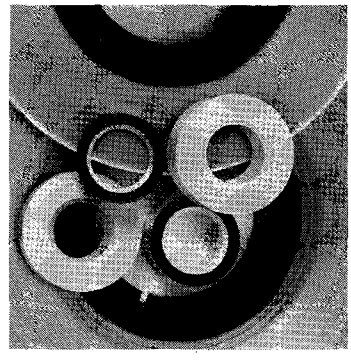
Interest-Sensitive Life Insurance from Equitable Variable Life Insurance Co., N.Y., N.Y.
Mutual Funds from Equico Securities, Inc., N.Y., N.Y.
© 1988 The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, N.Y., N.Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHEMISTRY



"Apothecary Shop" from the Saint-Galy Tiles of Williamsburg. Commissioned by W.H. Brady Jr., these tiles proudly reside at Brady Corporate Headquarters.



W.H. Brady Co.'s Specialty Tape Products Division is a world leader in the production of tapes with precision tolerances for the audio/video and computer industries.

Chemistry. It employs the combination of composition, matter and properties to produce products. Products that serve people. And solve problems.

Chemistry. It's also people. Interacting. Working together for a common goal.

At W.H. Brady Co. a commitment to both kinds of chemistry is expressed every day.

It's expressed through planning, research and marketing. Finally, it's expressed through our many products for industry.

BRADY®

W.H. BRADY CO. • 727 W. Glendale Avenue • P.O. Box 571 • Milwaukee, WI 53201

141-049

article "Lost Souls" [Dec. 31] is outstanding.

We parish priests, the clergy closest to the people, are largely conservative—as are most Catholic parishioners. You would never know this from reading most of the Catholic press, written by professors. The parish priests and the people in the Church are ignored. Thank you for expressing our views.

Rev. Rawley Myers
Colorado Springs, Colo.

Sanctions or No Sanctions

So now *NR* supports sanctions against African governments that oppress their black citizens ["The Week," Oct. 23]? Not South Africa, of course, but Ethiopia. What ever happened to the argument that sanctions hurt the beleaguered citizens more than the government?

NR praises "a resolution calling for sanctions against Ethiopia until such time as Colonel Mengistu stops abusing his people." Now, we can agree that the Mengistu regime treats black Africans worse than the Botha regime does. But is that the relevant difference? Is *NR*'s position that it would favor sanctions against South Africa if the government were worse, but that the current government just isn't that bad?

Why will *NR* not endorse "a resolution calling for sanctions against South Africa until such time as the Botha government stops abusing its people"? Is anyone at *NR* embarrassed by the contradiction between its South African and its Ethiopian policies, which might well lead the naïve reader to conclude that *NR* doesn't find the South African government offensive?

David D. Boaz
Vice President, Cato Institute
Washington, D.C.

NR *seeks to distinguish between state sanctions and individual sanctions. In respect of the former, we are continually guided by the criterion of Senator Fulbright when he said that the American* government *has no proper quarrel with the domestic policies of any other government, however odious, "provided it does not seek to export them." Ethiopia is a gestating arm of the Soviet Union. South Africa isn't.* —ED.

Nuclear Immorality

My colleague Mike Levin called me up two months ago and said he wanted to talk about nuclear ethics. We chatted for half an hour and he hung up. Now I find sentences from what I took to be a private conversation scattered through his article in NATIONAL REVIEW. Readers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Are Two Different Visions Tearing Our World Apart?

Thomas Sowell is at it again.

Over the last two decades he has taken on and demolished a mountain of myths in one area after another. Now he's turned in another blockbuster that breaks new ground with an originality of perspective and a boldness of style that will make everyone, left and right alike, sit up and take notice.

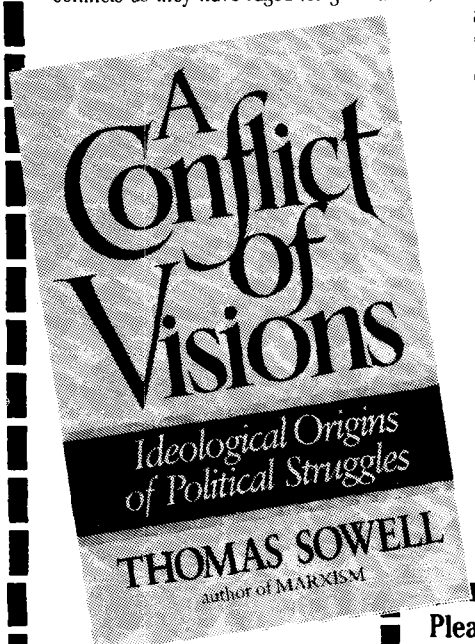
It's a book that will be hotly debated, examined, contested and turned inside-out. Because this time Sowell looks at political conflicts as they have raged for generations, and he has uncovered the remarkable fact that these conflicts have been dominated by two opposing visions that reflect radically different assumptions about the nature of man! On virtually every issue they line up on opposite sides, no matter how unrelated the issues. ***The very meaning of such words as "freedom," "equality," "rights" and "power" differs drastically from one vision to the next.***

So different are these two visions that often people from one camp cannot even understand what those from another are talking about. But that hasn't stopped them from threatening to tear apart societies and egging on the world to potential disaster.

Why? Because as Thomas Sowell points out, visions are powerful things. They underlie our ideologies and our political positions, and they may motivate us more than money, power or fame. People will kill for them and die for them. Indeed, *"We will do almost anything for our visions except think about them."*

The purpose of this book is to help us think about them.

- ***Why do concepts like "freedom," "equality," "rights," and "power" have such different meanings to different people?***
- ***Can these differences ever be resolved?***
- ***Why are failed visions in the natural sciences so much easier to abandon than in the social sciences?***
- ***What makes some people undergo radical conversions?***
- ***How does evidence influence vision?***
- ***Are visions stronger than self-interest?***
- ***How do those with one vision regard those with another?***



This readable and controversial book is bound to become a classic. Order your copy today!

Order TS 4492 (hardcover) Only $15.95

ORDER TOLL-FREE
1-800-238-2200
ext. 500

Charge your Visa or MasterCard
Continental U.S.
★ 24 hours a day ★
7 days a week

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE
If for any reason you are dissatisfied with any book, just return it within 30 days for a refund.

Please send me _____ copies of A CONFLICT OF VISIONS (TS 4492) at $15.95.
Send me these other Thomas Sowell titles:

- ☐ MARXISM (TS4120) $6.95
- ☐ ETHNIC AMERICA (TS0027) $9.95
- ☐ CIVIL RIGHTS: Rhetoric or Reality (TS8337)..... $5.95
- ☐ EDUCATION: Assumptions vs. History (TS0542) $8.95
- ☐ THE ECONOMICS AND POLITICS OF RACE (TS0406) $6.95

N.Y. State residents add sales tax... _____
Postage & Handling:
$2.50 U.S. mail or $3.50 UPS..... _____
TOTAL ..... $ _____

Send your order to:
LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS
Dept. NDBR, 532 Broadway,
New York, NY 10012
☐ Send me your FREE 32-page catalog of books on liberty.
☐ Check or Money Order ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

Card No. _____
Exp. Date _____
Signature _____
Name (Print) _____
Street _____
City _____
State/Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who might wonder about the ethics of this procedure might also wonder whether Levin has done justice to the views of the philosophers he discusses in "Philosophers Discover the Bomb" [Dec. 4]. In my own case he represents my views about as charitably as the clown-portrait in Aristophanes represents the true philosophy of Socrates.

My view is that nuclear deterrence is immoral, mainly because of the risks it inflicts on third parties. Levin says that I do not distinguish between acceptable risks and unacceptable risks, but I have published at length on this problem. (See, for example, my "Immoral Risks," *Social Philosophy and Policy*, Autumn 1985, or my "Taking Risk Seriously," *Journal of Philosophy*, 1986. Levin seems not to have read my work since 1982.) My bottom line out-Nozicks Nozick in its conservatism: All risk infliction is morally unacceptable, absent the consent of the victim. The consent may be implicit and obtained in various ways, but none of these legitimizes the infliction of nuclear risks on peasants in India.

Accordingly, the morally proper course involves the denuclearization of American defense. In fact, this is not sacrifice, but prudence. I am not alone in deploring the debilitating effects of high-tech and the nuclear addiction on American fighting forces, as the botched Son Tay, *Mayagüez*, and Teheran rescues, the Grenada screw-ups, and the *Stark* debacle give witness. The Soviets in the post-Chernobyl era may similarly concede the military inefficiencies of weapons that one deploys but cannot rationally use.

Douglas P. Lackey
New York, N.Y.

Second Strike

When I spoke to Professor Lackey, I told him that I "intended to write it [the nuclear-ethics literature] up" and that our conversation was part of that project. He even asked me where it would be published, but as at the time I had no firm commitment from NATIONAL REVIEW or anyone else, I was unable to tell him.

Concerning Professor Lackey's points of substance, he seems not to realize that his position also rules out most conventional weapons—e.g., missiles with conventional warheads that might deviate from their course during a test and brain a Third World peasant. Moreover, a general ban on risk imposition unaccompanied by consent would rule out such private acts as my walking down the street while carrying a heavy package, since I might conceivably drop it by accident on a passerby. No doubt Lackey would regard the passerby as having consented to the risk (I sense in "implicit consent" an escape clause that permits every imposable risk *except* that allegedly created by the American nuclear arsenal), but what about *children* on whom the package might fall? Then, too, the government has no right to conscript young men and subject them to risky training, like negotiating an obstacle course.

There are so many counter-examples to Lackey's moral principle that one is left supposing either that he received it as a revelation from On High or that he made it up with unilateral nuclear pacifism aforethought. Incidentally, the line of argument and the remark about "ten thousand Third World bystanders" come directly from the 1986 article that Lackey accuses me of not having read. There was no need for me to caricature his views; Lackey himself has done a good enough job of that.

Michael Levin
New York, N.Y.

Now all you have to do to give
NATIONAL REVIEW
is dial (TOLL FREE)

800-341-1522

That's right. To make it easier for you to give full-year gift subscriptions to NR (and who would not appreciate such a flattering gift?), we're providing this new dial-a-gift service at no cost to you—just pick up the phone today and order as many gifts as you want (don't forget the students you care about) at our special gift rate of just $30 each. (We'll pay for the call and all postage and handling, and bill you later—quite a bargain.)

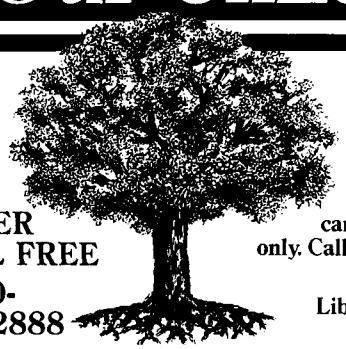
NR makes an ideal gift for hard-to-please people—it's a year-long reminder of your interest (not to mention an indication that you think they are interesting people too). Again, don't forget the young people you care about: conservative ideas are back in style on the campus, so NR ought to be doubly welcome now.

So pick up the phone and dial that toll-free number.

N.B. This special number is for gifts only; our operators cannot handle any other business, queries, etc. If the line is busy, wait a few minutes and call again. We're waiting to hear from you.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For Our Children



ORDER TOLL FREE 1-800-345-2888

Credit card orders only. Call anytime

Ask for a LibertyTree operator.

QUANTITY

THE CHILDHOOD OF FAMOUS AMERICANS Series

These lively and inspiring biographies of American heroes sweep children right into history. Ages 7 to 12.

#2030 **Set I: Great Patriots**

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN: Young Leader • MOLLY PITCHER: Young Patriot • DAVY CROCKETT: Young Rifleman • CRISPUS ATTACKS: Black Leader of Colonial Patriots • PAUL REVERE: Boston Patriot

#2030 192 pages/book, 5 paperbacks, **$22.95**

#2031 **Set II: Great Innovators**

THOMAS EDISON: Young Inventor • CLARA BARTON: Founder of the American Red Cross • ALBERT EINSTEIN: Young Thinker • WILBUR AND ORVILLE WRIGHT: Young Fliers • HENRY FORD: Young Man with Ideas

#2031 192 pages/book, 5 paperbacks, **$22.95**

#2032 **IF YOU LIVED THEN Series**

These exciting books transplant the young reader into great historical periods to experience the lives and hopes of the people who lived them. Ages 5 to 12.

IF YOU SAILED ON THE MAYFLOWER • IF YOU GREW UP WITH GEORGE WASHINGTON • IF YOU LIVED WITH THE SIOUX INDIANS • IF YOU LIVED IN COLONIAL TIMES • IF YOU GREW UP WITH ABRAHAM LINCOLN

#2032 80 pages/book, 5 paperbacks, **$14.95**

#8012 **RAISING A RESPONSIBLE CHILD**

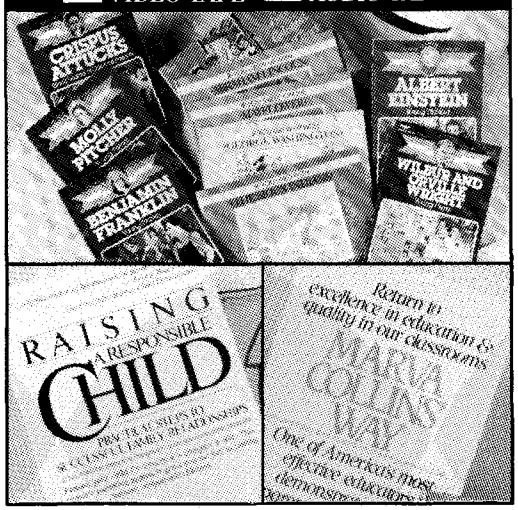
by Dr. Don Dinkmeyer and Dr. Gary D. McKay

Here's how to prepare your child for tomorrow's complex world. This superb book gives you the keys to raising courageous, humane, and responsible children.

#8012 256 pages, paperback, **$8.95**

KEY TO PRODUCTS

COLLECTIBLE · BOOK · GAME · VIDEO TAPE · AUDIO TAPE



QUANTITY

HOW TO TUTOR

by Samuel L. Blumenfeld

#8060 Here is the complete, step-by-step instructional program for teaching children the three R's. *"Precise and to the point"– AMERICAN SCHOOL BOARD JOURNAL*

#8060 298 pp., paperback **$9.95**

#2044 **DOCUMENTS OF LIBERTY POSTERS**

Exact copies on beautiful antique-like parchment, suitable for framing: the Declaration of Independence, Constitution, Bill of Rights, and Gettysburg Address.

#2044 4 docs., **$8.95**

QUANTITY

HEROES OF AMERICA

by Ingri and Edgar P. D'Aulaire

#2059 #2060 #2061 #2062 These beautifully illustrated classics are the absorbing stories of children growing up to become heroes of America's early history. Ages 4 to 10.

Columbus
#2059 48 pp., paperback, **$9.95**

George Washington
#2060 48 pp., paperback, **$9.95**

Benjamin Franklin
#2061 48 pp., paperback, **$9.95**

Pocahontas
#2062 48 pp., hardcover, **$12.95**

#1264 **THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION Series,**

by Jean Fritz

These books bring revolutionary America to life for children. Ages 5 to 12. *Children's Choice Award.*

AND THEN WHAT HAPPENED, PAUL REVERE? · WHY DON'T YOU GET A HORSE, SAM ADAMS? · WHERE WAS PATRICK HENRY ON THE 29TH OF MAY? · CAN'T YOU MAKE THEM BEHAVE, KING GEORGE? · WHAT'S THE BIG IDEA, BEN FRANKLIN? · WILL YOU SIGN HERE, JOHN HANCOCK?

#1264 48 pp/bk, 6 pbs **$39.95**

#2064 **MY FRIEND LIBERTY**

by Oscar-winner Jimmy Picker

This delightful clay animation stars the Statue of Liberty herself and will both thrill and educate children. Ages 3 and up.

#2064 30 min, VHS, **$24.95**

#8030 **MARVA COLLINS' WAY**

by Marva Collins

The famous educational innovator reveals the secrets of her miraculous teaching methods and private school practices, where problem students become top achievers.

#8030 237 pages, paperback, **$8.95**

#2043 **LIBERTY BELL**

Exact, ringing brass replica of the oldest symbol of liberty in America.

#2043 3 1/2 inches high, **$7.95**

LibertyTree Network

☐ Please rush me your free catalog of books, audio tapes, video tapes, games, and collectibles.

Method of Payment (Add $2.50 U.S. Mail/$4.00 UPS shipping):
(Calif. residents please add appropriate sales tax: 6-7½%)

☐ Check Enclosed ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Am. Express

Card No._____ Exp. Date_____

Signature_____

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____

Zip_____

MAIL TO: LibertyTree Network 6600 Silacci Way, Dept. D17, Gilroy, CA 95020

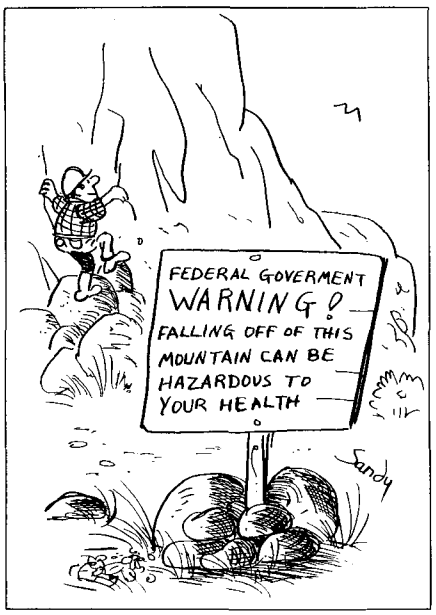
FREE WITH $25 MIN. ORDER
THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE & U.S. CONSTITUTION
Special Georgetown U. Bound Edition

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR THE RECORD

Wimp no more. Political pros are admiring the way **George Bush** set up the macho **Dan Rather**, live, perhaps changing the contour of the entire campaign. Question first: Will it play in Des Moines? Answer: It's bound to help Bush in Iowa caucuses, narrowing the gap with **Robert Dole**, who continues to lead in Iowa polls. Some comments: ABC News's **Jeff Greenfield**: "For the Republican Right, being attacked by Dan Rather is like being attacked by **Qaddafi**. That's a plus for those people." . . . Which New Right direct-mail wizard **Richard Viguerie** confirms: "George Bush hit a home run," he said, since it is an article of faith among conservatives that the media are biased against them and "Rather embodies that bias." . . . Latest *Washington Post*/ABC News poll nationally gives Bush 49 to 26 lead over Dole, same as last October. In match-ups against Democratic frontrunners, Bush beat **Hart** 53 to 39 per cent, **Jackson** 61 to 32 per cent.

Squishy-soft might be kindest description of Gary Hart lead in national polls. In latest CBS News/*N.Y. Times* poll Hart still leads Democratic field, topping Jesse Jackson 23 to 17 per cent. But among voters at large, only 18 per cent have favorable opinion of Hart; among Democrats his negative rating beats his positive rating, 31 to 22. . . . Analysts **Robert** and **Linda Lichter** point out that while Hart has gotten more TV exposure than all the other 12 candidates combined, more of that exposure has been negative than positive. . . . In Iowa (where he has slipped to 13 per cent from a post-re-entry high of 34) 47 per cent of likely caucus-goers say he can't be trusted, only 26 per cent think he is bringing new ideas to party. . . . **John Chubb**, political scholar at Brookings, finds it "far-fetched" to think Hart will emerge as Democratic nominee. . . . **David Broder** of *Washington Post* asks whether Hart's record of "walking away" from situations (his name, church affiliation, divinity school, wife, campaign) hasn't wounded him mortally with voters. . . . **Kevin Phillips** sees Hart's decline and coming eclipse as the end of a twenty-year-long Politics of Petulance, whose symbols were **George McGovern**, pollster and kingmaker **Pat Caddell**, and Hart himself.



The Left has mounted the same kind of attack on Contra aid it mounted so successfully against **Robert Bork** nomination. "We've got to work against [Contra] aid like we've never done before," says **Meg Ruby** of Days of Decision coalition. They set up a Congress Watch that included vigils, demonstrations, and press conferences on Jan. 25 (the day of the State of the Union address), a hunger strike on the steps of the Capitol, and a 48-hour "telephone blitz" to congressmen February 1 and 2, on the eve of the vote. Says **Ashley Osment** of Coalition for a New Foreign Policy: "Our strategy is not only to defeat it [Contra aid]. We must have a margin of victory of at least twenty votes. We must lobby the House like we've never lobbied it before." Meg Ruby finds the concessions made by the Sandinistas "just stunning." . . . However, although **Daniel Ortega** has now authorized a number of radio stations to reopen and resume news broadcasts, Lt. **Lisette Torres**, who heads the Sandinista press office, has entered a caveat: No live news events or speeches can be covered by radio without prior permission of the government. The ban on private TV stations will remain. . . . *Barricada*, the official Sandinista newspaper, has warned that the restoration of civil rights should "not be misinterpreted as a blank check for irresponsibility and subversion." "They are telling us that this is their style of democracy," commented **Violeta Chamorro**, a director of *La Prensa*. Mrs. Chamorro's brother-in-law, *La Prensa* editor **Jaime Chamorro**, was one of the opposition leaders thrown into the hoosegow briefly by Nicaraguan police a fortnight ago.

Take note: The Conservative Political Action Conference will be held Feb. 11 to 13 at Washington's Omni Shoreham. President **Reagan** will address Saturday-night banquet. Speakers include **Jeane Kirkpatrick**, **Reed Irvine**, and presidential candidates **Jack Kemp** and **Pat Robertson**. For info contact **Rick del Vecchio** or **Greg Mueller**, Keene, Shirley & Assoc., 919 Prince St., Alexandria, Va. 22314. . . . American Family Association has won battle against pornography. AT&T has agreed to file petition with FCC to stop billing for dial-a-porn companies. . . . In Louisville, Ky., State Rep. **Tom Riner** is raising money to help care for wounded Afghan freedom-fighters (1143 E. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40204). . . . *NR* contributor **R. Bruce McColm** has been named executive director of Freedom House, whose latest listing of which nations are free, which partially free, and which not free is just out (Freedom House, 48 E. 21st Street, NYC 10010).

Reverse censorship: Yugoslav folk singer **Vera Nomin** has been sentenced to sixty days in jail for refusing to sing a song entitled "Comrade **Tito**, We Pledge to You That We Will Not Swerve from Your Path."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TAKE ANY 3 FOR $1.00 EACH

(First price is Publishers' List.
Boldface shows Members' Price.)

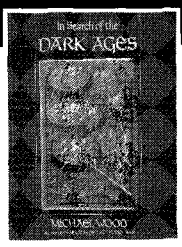
(with Trial Membership)

EMPIRES AND THEIR LEGACIES

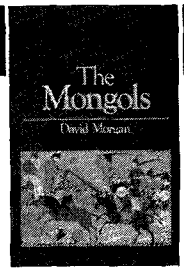
2154. **The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction,** *by Bernard Bailyn.* A look at the trans-Atlantic migration. $16.95/**$12.95**

2535. **MAYA: The Riddle and Rediscovery of a Lost Civilization,** *by Charles Gallenkamp.* Incorporates a century of research. $22.95/**$16.95**

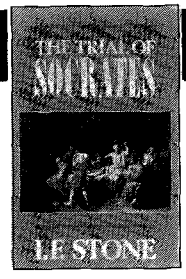
1339. **The Discovery of King Arthur,** *by Geoffrey Ashe.* Extracts fact from legend in search of the "once and future king." $18.95/**$14.95**



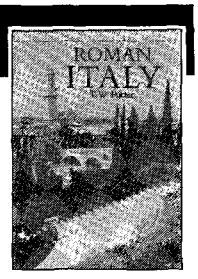
6981. $22.95/**$16.95**



2642. $19.95/**$15.95**



6460. $18.95/**$15.95**



5439. $25.00/**$17.50**

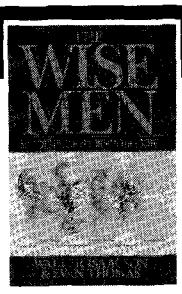
STATESMEN, GENERALS & THE RULING CLASS

7187. **Eleanor Of Aquitaine And The Four Kings,** *by Amy Kelly.* A ruler with great depth and strength of character. $20.00/**$14.50**

3509. **The Autobiography of Henry VIII: A Novel,** *by Margaret George.* A riveting story of a king overcome by power & its peril. $19.95/**$15.95**

1917. **Eisenhower at War: 1943-1945,** *by David Eisenhower.* Alters long-held assumptions about Eisenhower as Supreme Commander. $29.95/**$22.50**

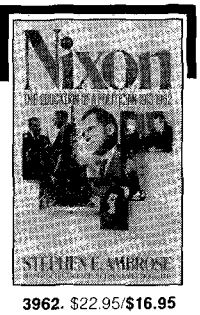
3244. **Frederick the Great: The Magnificent Enigma,** *by Robert B. Asprey.* A hypochondriac or daunting military leader and king? $29.95/**$19.95**



3780. $22.95/**$16.95**

1388. $22.95/**$16.95**

5660. $26.95/**$18.50**



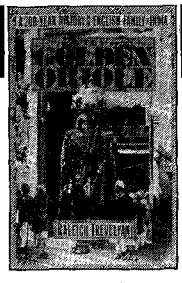
3962. $22.95/**$16.95**

TIMELESS ISSUES, ENDURING IDEAS

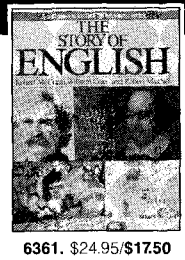
3012. **The Bible As History, 2nd Revised Ed.,** *by Werner Keller.* Archaeology and science document biblical history. $14.95/**$10.95**

2402. **Arab and Jew: Wounded Spirits in a Promised Land,** *by David K. Shipler.* Pulitzer Prize winner and provocative record. $22.50/**$17.50**

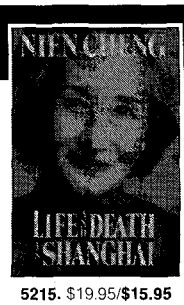
6205. **Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decision Makers,** *by R. E. Neustadt and E. R. May.* History—a tool to knowledge. $19.95/**$14.50**



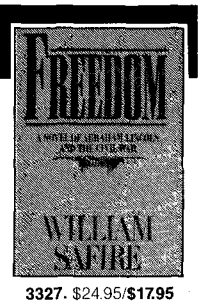
3392. $24.95/**$16.95**



6361. $24.95/**$17.50**



5215. $19.95/**$15.95**



3327. $24.95/**$17.95**

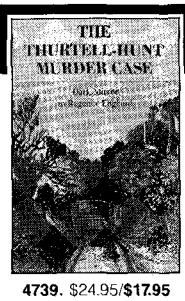
THE WARRING WORLD

3103. **The Zimmermann Telegram,** *by Barbara W. Tuchman.* The critically acclaimed tale of war, espionage and diplomacy. $14.95/**$12.95**

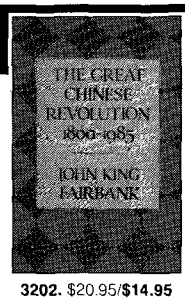
4408. **The Fall of the Roman Empire: The Military Explanation,** *by Arther Ferrill.* How the collapse of Rome's army led to its fall. $22.50/**$17.50**

7666. **The Holocaust: A History of the Jews of Europe During the Second World War,** *by Martin Gilbert.* A powerful testimony. $24.95/**$17.50**

5991. $25.00/**$17.50**



4739. $24.95/**$17.95**



3202. $20.95/**$14.95**

7989. $25.00/**$17.95**

Save on the best recent history titles. *Including this Introductory Offer,* you can save more than 50% during your initial Trial Membership, on some of the finest history books being published today. Our list covers a wide variety of topics, such as American personalities, Civil War, European history, science and religious thought.

We don't sacrifice quality. The History Book Club always offers its members quality publishers' editions, never "economy" reprints. All our books are available to members at truly substantial savings.

Choose any 3 for $1.00 each. Simply select any three books shown on this page — for just $1.00 each when you take a fourth book at the low Members' Price. Every month you will be able to choose additional selections from the 150 to 200 books described in the Club's magazine. You need take only four more selections during the next two years, always at the low Members' Price. Once you have completed your initial membership, you can qualify for additional savings through Bonus Books that you can select from our entire list at an average savings of 60% off Publishers' List Prices.

How the Club works. Approximately every four weeks (14 times a year), you will receive our *Review* and a dated reply card. If you want the Editors' Choice, do nothing — the book will come automatically. If you want another book, or no book at all, return the card by the date specified. (Book shipments will be charged to your account at low Members' Prices, plus postage and packing.)

If you should receive an unwanted book because you had less than 10 days to decide, you may return it and pay nothing. We guarantee postage.

The History Book Club, Dept. N,
40 Guernsey Street, Box 790 Stamford, CT 06904-0790

Please enroll me as a Trial Member and send me the four books whose numbers I have listed below. Bill those on the left at $1.00 each and the fourth at the low Members' Price, plus postage and packing.

[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

I may return the books within three weeks at your expense and owe nothing. Or, I will buy four more selections within the next two years, *not including my choices above.* I can cancel my membership anytime thereafter. All Club purchases are at low Members' Prices, and a postage-and-packing fee is added to all shipments.

NZ0398SP

Print Name_____

Address_____ Apt. #_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

In Canada Mail to U.S. Address

BA88H

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

☐ Maybe CBS should bring back Jimmy the Greek to fill in until Dan Rather recovers his composure.

☐ This week's populist dreamboat is Richard Gephardt, who has suddenly soared into the lead in the Iowa polls and, like most sudden front-runners, finds he has to start explaining things nobody paid attention to before. For instance, he's the only Democratic candidate who had the good sense to vote against the last minimum-wage increase, an act he tries to excuse by saying the proposed increase was indexed to the cost of living (it wasn't) and had a sub-minimum wage for young people (it didn't). Gephardt also used to vote humanely on abortion: he had solid pro-life support through his first five congressional campaigns. "I strongly oppose abortion," he wrote to *Lifeletter* in 1977, because "it constitutes destruction of human life. . . . I want to reassure you of my unwavering opposition to abortion." Guess what he came out in favor of in 1986, just before he announced he'd seek the Democratic presidential nomination?

☐ Judge Robert Bork may be stepping down, but he's far from out. In the confirmation battle, he was restrained by judicial decorum and White House strategy. Now the gloves are off. As Bork wrote to President Reagan, "For several months, various highly vocal groups and individuals systematically misrepresented not only my record and philosophy of judging but, more importantly, the proper function of judges in our constitutional democracy. . . . If, as a judge, I cannot speak out against this attempt to alter the traditional nature of our courts, I think it is important to place myself where I can." Bravo. Those who thought that by killing his nomination they could destroy the respectability of his ideas are in for a surprise. Judge Robert Bork is shrugging off the black robes, and reasserting his formidable intellect. This is a fight Bork can win.

☐ Georgetown University, a Catholic institution, must give its homosexual student groups the same privileges it gives other campus organizations. So says the District of Columbia Court of Appeals. But, says the court, Georgetown need not bestow "university recognition" on them, since that would amount to an "endorsement" of practices Georgetown disapproves of. A Georgetown spokesman said the university may appeal to the Supreme Court. A dissenting judge objected that the majority was forcing "a religious body, contrary to its basic tenets, to provide services and facilities to those who advocate and proselytize abnormal and criminal sexual practices." But Nan Hunter hailed the ruling as a milestone. Miss Hunter directs the Lesbian and Gay Rights Project of, yes, the American Civil Liberties Union. Dig that. "Civil liberties" now means bringing state power to bear against the freedom of a private religious institution to set standards of moral conduct for its own members. So much for the First Amendment. The hidden agenda is coming out of the closet.

☐ This one is just unbelievable. Scientists in the SDI program have found that they can kill the AIDS virus in blood with one of their lasers—a laser otherwise useful only in what every liberal deprecates as Star Wars. Would you believe that the defense of the United States of America from nuclear attack could actually be made a reality by the search for a cure for AIDS? Start now. And by the way, AIDS, spelled backward, starts SDI . . .

☐ A Queens judge has given Jon Lester, one of the three whites convicted in the 1986 Howard Beach killing of a black, the maximum sentence of up to thirty years in prison—two consecutive sentences for manslaughter and assault. Judge Thomas Demakos observed that Lester had shown "no remorse, no sense of guilt, no shame, no fear." After chasing one man to a highway where he was killed by a car, Lester proceeded to slug another with a baseball bat. On the grounds of savagery, Lester deserved a tough sentence. But he got a tougher one than many murder-

Stanford Caves In

It's back to Swahili at Stanford
  And courses more cordial to blacks,
While Plato and Proust, although they've vamoosed,
  Still hang by their nails in the stacks.

W. H. von Dreele

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

LAST ISSUE, Cato presented a report card on the Republican presidential candidates, gleaned from what analysts around town, both conservative and liberal, have been saying. Here is the complementary morning book on the Democrats:

Paul Simon: A. Honesty is still a commendable quality in presidential contenders, and Simon seems honest in homely ways. From his bow tie and Fifties hairstyle to his unabashed big-spending liberalism, Simon stands for the Democratic Party in its unfurled New Deal glory. Simon is attractive because he doesn't seem to be programmed by campaign strategists. Watch this man. If he continues to let his high-minded values shape his wrong-headed programs, he could be a front-runner going into Atlanta. Like the tortoise, Simon has spent decades making political moves that led to this race, and the youthful hares in the Democratic pack would do well to remember it.

Jesse Jackson: B+. Jackson is handicapped by a major problem: he has never been elected to public office. Because of his Rainbow Coalition, Jackson is sure to enter the convention with 20 per cent of the delegates, but he will nevertheless not be a contender. Voters want their future Presidents to have had experience in elective office. Yet Jackson's rhetoric—less shrill than in 1984, and more effective—will assure him a role in shaping the Democratic debate.

Richard Gephardt: B. This boy wonder with the milkman father, all-American family, and Dobie Gillis manners had a bad year—until his get-tough-on-trade television commercials began running in Iowa, propelling him to the front of the pack. Initially, his protectionist stance was a minus for him because the October stock-market collapse left Americans nervous about the kind of trade-war brinksmanship he was recommending. In addition, Gephardt's neo-liberalism looked pallid in contrast to Paul Simon's old-fashioned New Dealism. Simon may be proving, at Gephardt's expense, that liberals want promises of spending more than they want promises of policy. Gephardt will survive Iowa and New Hampshire, because of his strong organization in both states, and go south for Super Tuesday. But he is far from unbeatable.

Michael Dukakis: B. A pre-season underdog, Dukakis has proven a political truism: Never underestimate a governor who wants to be President. A governor becomes skilled at building statewide support and managing diverse constituencies—skills well suited to the rough-and-tumble of presidential politics—whereas congressmen and senators focus on bringing home the bacon and coddling constituents. In midseason, Dukakis's campaign was marred by revelations of dirty tricks against Joe Biden. Nonetheless, Dukakis should do well if he rises above regional politics and can sell economic growth and free trade to Southern Democrats on Super Tuesday. With local labor unions warming to him, Dukakis may dispel the notion that a non-WASP (Dukakis is of Greek descent) cannot run well in the South.

Albert Gore: B. This 39-year-old baby-boomer heir to a Tennessee political dynasty has packaged himself almost perfectly as Essence of Neo-Democrat. With an attractive wife and family, telegenic charm, and a résumé that includes the Senate at an early age, Gore must be taken seriously—but for 1992, not 1988.

Gary Hart: C. With an A average starting the year, Hart flunked out last summer. Now the question is whether he can turn his underdog candidacy into a serious campaign. His lackluster performance in the Iowa Democratic debate argues no, although a good showing in New Hampshire could put him near or at the head of the pack. Questions of financial irregularities continue to dog him, but Hart is nimble. Although he is not nominatable, let alone electable, he could well hang on till Atlanta.

Bruce Babbitt: D. If Dukakis proves that governors who run for President should be taken seriously, Babbitt refutes the idea. He put his money in early TV spots to anchor Iowa, apparently unaware that the "professional" voters of Iowa are so courted by candidates that early television exposure is wasteful. Babbitt has remained obstinately in the race when others might have bailed out, but his tenacity will probably give way before Super Tuesday. —CATO

---

ers get, and the judge assigned this to the "racially motivated" nature of the act. A troubling rationale: are we to suppose that of all the thousands of interracial crimes that occur constantly (the vast majority against whites), only the few committed *by* whites are "racially motivated" or constitute a threat to racial harmony? If interracial crime is going to be punished with special severity, then all races should be punished—and protected—alike.

☐ For the last two years, black activists in New York City have been busy organizing neighborhood-watch groups, ostensibly to help local police combat the sale and use of illegal drugs. A friend of ours who sat in on a recent meeting of the Black Men's Movement Against Crack, led by longtime activist Sonny Carson, reported that, oddly enough, not a word was said about drugs of any kind. Rather, after hearing welcoming speeches from representatives of the Socialist Workers and Freedom Socialist Parties, the audience listened to two hours of railing against a sinister plot on the part of the FBI to monitor, infiltrate, and ultimately suppress the Black Men's Movement. Subsequently, the Reverend Al Sharpton, one of New York's black leaders, was revealed to be an FBI informant. Sharpton, according to *New York Newsday*, even as he led demonstrations against the Koch administration, was keeping tabs on fellow civil-rights leaders in New York—including Sonny Carson—and reporting to representatives of the Federal Government. Makes you miss Martin Luther King.

☐ Yevgeny Yevtushenko has written a poem in praise of Nikolai Bukharin, and we're all supposed to stop

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Ardent Fan

Señor Ortega, having checked
With Castro in Havana,
And with the winked assurances
Of Moscow's top banana,
Will leave the dungeon doors ajar
While striking sexy poses
With journalists and Contras, as
Dodd wires long-stemmed roses.

W. H. VON DREELE

the presses. *Glasnost marches on.* Hooey. Yevtushenko, that practiced old toady, has never strayed more than two steps beyond the official Soviet line. Gorbachev has been saying nice things about Bukharin lately. Ergo, so does Yevtushenko. What's so special about Bukharin anyway? *He supported "Party democracy"* (meaning, democracy within, but not beyond, the Party). In other words, he had no intention of loosening the regime's grip on the masses, only Stalin's grip on the regime. *He was the victim of a show trial.* But Stalin killed a number of bad men, along with the millions of innocent ones. The only practical difference between Stalin and the Old Bolsheviks he offed was that he got to them before they got to him. Philosophically, they were identical. So, given his changed circumstances, is Gorbachev. The whole exercise has as much moral meaning as Al Capone rehabilitating Bugs Moran.

☐ In our last issue we commented editorially on the 17-year-old who murdered five people for the express purpose of funding his crack habit. His crime (we suggested) raised the question whether the war on dope—which has been a spectacular flop—is worth the trouble. Innocent people are being murdered and robbed because of the authorities' attempt to make it a little bit tougher for lowlifes to commit slow-motion suicide. Now come the statistics that make the question even more urgent. According to a recent study by the Justice Department, between one-half and three-fourths of all men arrested for serious crimes show signs of recent drug use. In Chicago the figure is 73 per cent; in Washington, D.C., 77 per cent; in New York City, 79 per cent. The choice we face today is 1) keep drugs illegal (and therefore extremely expensive), gritting our teeth against overcrowded prisons and crime-ridden cities, or 2) legalize the stuff (making it as cheap as, say, alcohol) and let the druggies—the ones who cannot be persuaded to quit by intensive educational efforts—fall where they may.

☐ You'd think if the guvmint could do anything right, it would be turning wind into power. With this in mind, in 1980 the Energy Department spent some 60 million for three huge windmills as a "multi-megawatt wind farm." These proved to be about as useful as Congress; they kept falling apart, and have now been sold for scrap for 28,000 bucks.

☐ "We are heading merrily down the drain," Stanford biology professor Paul Ehrlich said the other day. "The earth can't support five billion." He was recently awarded the 1987 World Wildlife Fund's Gold Medal, "in recognition of his achievements as a global spokesman on population, extinction, and other environmental issues." Back around 1970, Ehrlich predicted that 65 million Americans would die of starvation in the 1980s—a decade of best-selling diet books and overweight welfare recipients. Ehrlich believes the U.S. population should drop by 100 million. Too many people create such problems as "excessive garbage," he believes.

☐ Stuart Surlin, a communications professor at the University of Windsor (Canada), surveyed 119 American journalists—major papers, Washington and New York, prime Agnew-enemy types. What did they say was the most "valuable/effective" source of public-policy information, outside the government? The Heritage Foundation, by a plurality of 34 per cent (Brookings was second, at 22 per cent). Heritage was also rated as most biased; journalists nevertheless appreciated it for being "timely" and "understandable." In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly, but westward, look, the land is bright.

☐ ARMS-RACE NOTES. Imperialist warmongers (i.e., us) sell 13.5 per cent of the world's arms. Peace-loving Socialist Motherland (Sovietskys) sell 43 per cent.

☐ Which will it be? "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit"? Or "Creator, Redeemer, Sustainer"? The first phrase, based on the words of the Bible, has been in Christian creeds for 16 centuries. The second, a late bloom of twenty years of feminism, is designed to allay fears that God wears pants (and they call fundamentalists primitive). Forty-eight Methodist pastors issued a protest against creeping use of the latter. The question will be settled at the church's General Conference in St. Louis come spring. Why not scrap both versions and use "the Force" instead?

☐ The Habitual Liar sez that at least *he's* kept his marriage together, whereas Ronald Reagan could be said to have "walked away" from a marriage, and, anyway, he's been married longer than Reagan. Reagan married Nancy in 1952. The Habitual Liar married Lee in 1958.

☐ THERE'LL ALWAYS BE AN ENGLAND DEP'T: Chap in Skegness has been fined £100 for fish neglect.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

☐ Guess who has applied for a $56-million federal business-development grant, designed for communities suffering "physical and economic distress"? Beverly Hills.

The State of Reagan

As a visual and rhetorical spectacle, the State of the Union address was magnificent. There he was, the vigorous President, entering to a standing ovation, shaking hands along the aisle, clearly reinvigorated after the assorted public and personal crises of 1987, articulating against an American-flag backdrop his abiding themes—economic vitality and deregulation, SDI, the Nicaraguan resistance, the spread of democracy, an end to abortion on demand, control of spending—followed by a chivalrous salute to his adoring wife.

Then there is the INF treaty. The President appears clear weapons necessarily increases our safety, regardless of what else is going on at the same time. [See also "SDI: Political Karate," p. 20]. Nor do we see any indication that the President perceives the INF treaty as part of an ongoing political process, each part of which is related to every other part. The process involves our relations with Europe, and especially West Germany; it involves SDI; it involves the strategic equation in the year 2000—it involves the fate of the West.

The ostensible camaraderie of the President's handshaking entrance, the ovations, the flag, the salute from, of all people, Speaker Jim Wright—all of this, when you come right down to it, was a momentary illusion, a nostalgia trip to the bi-partisan days of, say, Rayburn and Eisenhower.

The unpleasant contemporary reality is that the Democratic majority in Congress is in the business of fertilizing a Communist dictatorship in Nicaragua, that the Left succeeded brilliantly in overwhelming Bork, that the Democratic Party (including all of the Democratic candidates for President) sides with Gorbachev against SDI, and that the Democratic Party has absolutely no intention of cutting federal spending, a/k/a the "deficit," against which it rails.

The assorted symbols of community and consensus that surrounded the President were inspiriting but illusory. What we actually face is a moral and political civil war. Such people as Wright, Kennedy, and Coelho do not inhabit the same moral universe as Ronald Reagan. We hope he understands this.

Say a Prayer for Exports

Though all, while standing on a book,
Still have a certain dwarf-like look,
And could, which is the way with fads,
Have had lobotomies when lads,
One will, though hump-wise he may claim
A hankering for Notre Dame,
Go on to win if voters see
A limp in the economy.

W. H. von Dreele

Memo to George Bush

Duking it out with Dan Rather must have been fun. It was good planning too: *you* ambushed *him* (by anticipating his Iran-Contra questions, and demanding that your face-off be live), and all anyone saw was his (failed) attempt to ambush you.

But this Iran-Contra stuff isn't going away. To prepare for future clashes, you ought to think: about Iran, the Contras, and why they will continue to dog you.

1. The Iran half of the operation is the one the American people dislike most, and the one in which you come off looking worst. Yet, paradoxically, your line of defense here is strongest—or, at least, less subject to surprise attack.

Iran consistently tops polls of most-hated nations. You, in particular, are in the embarrassing position of having chaired a task force on terrorism which proclaimed that America would never yield an inch, even as the Iranian probe, which you knew about, was going forward.

Your defense? Samuel Johnson's, when he misdefined the pastern of the horse: "Ignorance, madam, pure ignorance." It was wrong, you were dumb; you made a mistake. This is the line everybody else, from Reagan on down, is taking. It works, because no new revelations can possibly make things seem worse; and because the American people do remember that nobody is perfect.

2. The Contra half of the operation is probably much more popular. (We don't know, since the Administration never succeeded in sharpening the issue.) Yet here the threats to you are greater.

Your staff and, indirectly, you were connected to the Contras' suppliers in a dozen ways. Your national-security advisor met several times with an ex-CIA agent who was working on Contra matters in Central America; you met with the ex-agent once yourself; etc., etc. So far, the connections don't connect anything of significance. The subject under discussion was always El Salvador; or, if it wasn't, you weren't there; and so forth, and so on. This is the line you have staked out; hold to it, because

3. The Left is not concerned about Iran, or diversions, or constitutional theory, but Central Ameri-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ca. They want us out. If they sideswipe you on the way, fine.

The magazines of the Left—*The Village Voice*, *The Progressive*, *The Nation*—are keeping careful tabs on your Contra connections. What they say is important because liberals read them; what Victor Navasky wonders about in March, Dan Rather will be asking you in June.

Assuming he isn't afraid to meet you again.

Kemp's Chance, and Ours

FEBRUARY 8 approaches, and on that day in Iowa, after months and years of polls and debates, trial balloons and lead balloons, punditry and pandemonium, real live voters will make the first real choices in the 1988 presidential process.

"The Republican field now assembled," *NR* wrote last summer ("The Week," August 14), "is a good one. The best man in it is Jack Kemp."

That judgment still holds up. In this issue, Richard Brookhiser reports on Kemp on the stump, with a rundown of his positions, his strengths and weaknesses ("Kemp at the Crossroads," p. 28). He concludes: "Social Security aside," Kemp "has been right on every salient issue."

The word that deserves emphasis there is *salient*. The trenches of intellectual warfare can be stretched across the whole universe, from William of Occam to Madonna. But in politics, the firing occurs in only a few sectors at any one time. Wherever it has been hot in the last ten years, Jack Kemp has been there. Tax-rate cuts are the great, indeed the overshadowing, example, but there are numerous others. Kemp saw through Jim Wright's Nicaraguan maneuvering before Ronald Reagan did. Kemp called the INF treaty a "nuclear Munich"; Bush and Dole support it. When Bob Dole was saying that he backed Robert Bork but, at the same time, he knew how to count, Kemp was calling for TV ads in Bork's behalf. Bush's position on abortion has shifted marginally back and forth over the years; Dole's and Kemp's voting records have been solid. Dole doesn't mention abortion in his speeches; Kemp does.

Kemp, realistically, expects no better than a third- or fourth-place finish in Iowa; he hopes for a strong second in New Hampshire eight days later. Even if he gets that, the course ahead of him is land-mined with difficulties.

RIGHT DATA

Truth in Taxation

THE 1986 Tax Reform Act was billed as a $25-billion shift of tax burden from individuals to corporations. Understandably, in selling the package to the American people, both Treasury and the Joint Tax Committee focused almost exclusively on the personal-income-tax side of things. Charts were prepared showing all income brackets paying less under the new law, with reductions in 1988 ranging from 2.4 per cent for taxpayers with incomes above $200,000, to 65.1 per cent for those with incomes below $10,000. The average taxpayer, we were told, would pay $194 less in 1988 because of this legislation.

But corporate taxes are paid by people also, not directly, but indirectly—first in the form of lower dividends and capital-gains income, and then, in cases where corporations are able to pass the tax on to their customers, in the form of higher prices for goods and services.

Recent research has worked through the net impact of the total tax package, including the corporate tax increase, on the tax liabilities of individuals, and has discovered that, when corporate taxes are factored in, all income brackets above $50,000 pay more in taxes under the new tax law. Considerably more.

Individuals earning $200,000 and above will see their combined personal- and corporate-tax liabilities rise by $18,770 in 1988, a 12.9 per cent increase over what they would have been paying under the old tax law. Taxpayers with incomes between $100,000 and $200,000 will pay, on average, $3,335 more; between $75,000 and $100,000, $1,113 more; and between $50,000 and $75,000, $243 more, according to the National Bureau of Economic Research.

Taxes are reduced for those earning less than $50,000, but not by nearly as much as had been promised: individuals earning less than $10,000 will pay 17.6 per cent less; they had been promised a cut nearly four times as large. Taxpayers in the $40,000 to $50,000 group will pay 4.4 per cent less—not the 9.5 per cent reduction originally advertised.

Taxpayers over age 65 will pay more under the new law no matter what bracket they are in, reflecting the importance of capital-gains income among older retired or partially retired individuals in all income classes. The combined tax increase ranges from 17 per cent for elderly taxpayers in the $10,000 to $20,000 income group, to 8 per cent for those in the highest income group.

—EDWIN RUBENSTEIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It will be a pity if he fails because his comrades-in-arms in the causes he has supported so well had their minds on other things.

Fifteen Years Later

THE RIGHT-TO-LIFE MOVEMENT gathered, as it has every year for 15 years, in Washington, D.C., last week on the anniversary of *Roe* v. *Wade*. For 15 years protestors have showed up in the January chill, unlike the more fashionable marchers who tend to stage their events in pleasant weather, when their counts will be swelled by tourists wandering the Mall. Last time, a winter storm kept many away, but this year as in earlier years approximately fifty thousand people took part. One television commentator, disbelief in his voice, asked a marcher whether, after all this time, he really felt there was any hope of reversing *Roe* v. *Wade*. The young man looked around, thought a minute, and said: Well, he didn't think any of these people were going to give up.

In fact, the media accounts seemed gentler than usual, as if the pro-life movement were gaining intellectual respectability. In part, this may be due to the arrival of reinforcements. The movement has long been stereotyped as entirely religious: Roman Catholic and fundamentalist. And, indeed, the religious presence is noticeable among the protestors: prayers, protest signs invoking God, clerical garb, etc. Full credit should be given to these people, who understood the issue early and have refused to give up. But with the arrival in the ranks of pro-life radical feminists and of civil-libertarians such as Nat Hentoff, it is becoming more apparent that the principle of the movement is the life of a child, and not the religious hegemony that many had feared.

No one knows what the probable appointment of Judge Anthony Kennedy to the Supreme Court will accomplish, and many activists are watching hopefully. The vast majority of the American people must be breathing a sigh of relief, however small and secret, at the thought of changing our abortion policy as the count passes twenty million.

The Big Enchilada

HAUNTING THE debate over aid to the Contras is the unacknowledged specter of a Communist Mexico. Mexico has ceased to be the stable neighbor it once was: its poverty, inflation, and official corruption have made it vulnerable to Communist subversion at any opportune moment.

Apart from the ruling—but tottering—PRI, the Communists are Mexico's only really viable party. They have a large, hard-core membership, mass support, and clandestine capabilities (including connections with Soviet-backed front groups and penetration of key labor unions). Mexico's suicidally close ties with the Soviet bloc, which maintains a hefty "diplomatic" presence in Mexico City, aggravate the danger.

When the correlation of forces is suitable—when, say, the Sandinistas have consolidated their power, and, in the U.S., a Democrat (or a "moderate" Republican) occupies the White House—the stage may be set for a campaign so swift that the Communists would take power before the Administration and Congress could collect themselves to respond. Strikes, demonstrations, and sabotage are among the methods the Communist forces could use to propel Mexico into terminal crisis. Then overt Communists could form a "coalition" with their covert colleagues within the PRI, along the lines of the 1948 Czech scenario. Or, following the 1977 Ethiopian or 1978 Afghan model, Communist cadres within the military might stage a coup to "reform the Revolution of 1910." Meanwhile, democratic politicians could be neutralized by a campaign of terrorism.

Even after seventy years' experience of Communism, U.S. political leaders remain ill-equipped to anticipate and cope with the tried-and-true methods of Communist subversion. A Communist regime could be ensconced before the U.S. managed a consensus about how—or even whether—to prevent it.

The best preventive measure available now is aid to the indigenous forces that are fighting to establish in Nicaragua the democracy the Sandinistas pledged in 1979 to institute. If Congress provides sufficient aid to the Contras, the people of Nicaragua themselves can bring into being a government that is both democratic and at peace with its neighbors. But with so many members of Congress currently making excuses for the Sandinistas and finding excuses for opposing the Contras, one has to wonder how badly the Democrats in Washington want democracy in Central America.

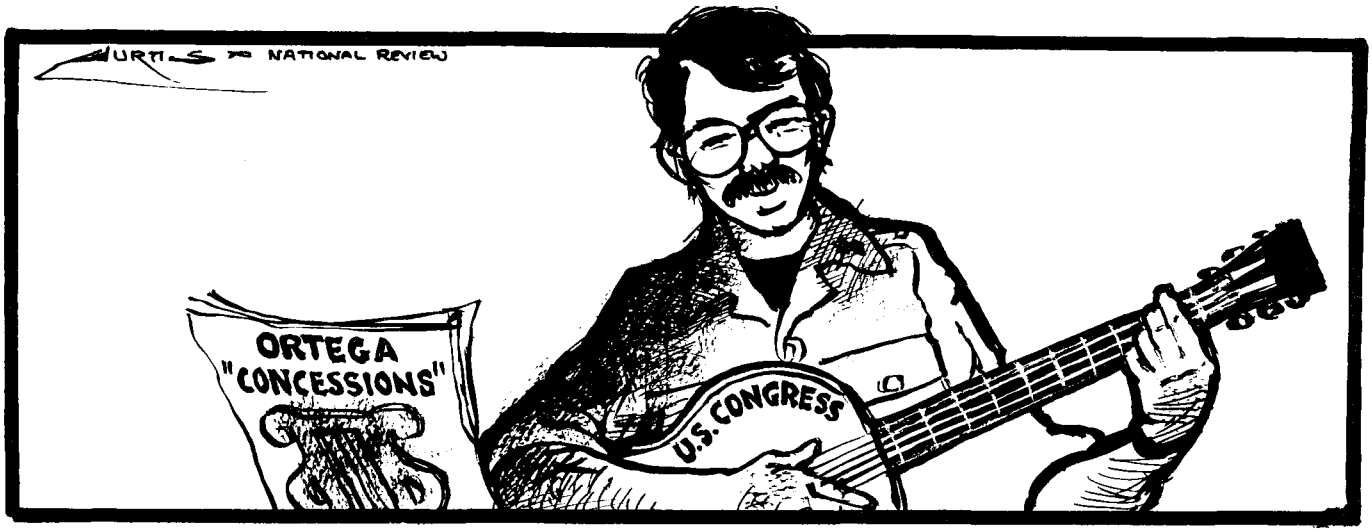
An Offer They Can't Refuse

EVANS AND NOVAK report that even as the Soviets purr about pulling troops out of Afghanistan, they continue planting the stakes for a lasting postwar presence—for example, by forcibly taking thousands of Afghan children to be indoctrinated in Communism in the Soviet Union. It's far too early to assume that the Soviets have any intention of leaving Afghanistan for good. At the moment we have to presume that their goal is to lull us into prematurely cutting off aid to the resistance.

In his State of the Union message, the President took one sound, basic step: he reaffirmed his policy of continuing military aid until the *last* Soviet troops have left Afghanistan.

However, there are other measures he can and should take. U.S. aid should be increased, unless the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"Now, for my next number . . ."

Soviets take serious action to withdraw. Pakistan should be urged not to pressure the resistance to accept the destructive UN peace plan, and the resistance groups should be encouraged to maintain unity and step up their military action. Radio Liberty and other organs should increase their broadcasts to Soviet Central Asia, stressing the Soviet assault on Islam in Afghanistan.

The Soviets can also be given special incentives to withdraw. The resistance can announce that only Soviet compliance with the Reagan plan can guarantee safe conduct for departing Soviet troops and amnesty for Afghan collaborators. It can also stipulate that a neutral, non-aligned government is only possible if the Soviets meet Reagan's conditions for a genuine settlement; otherwise the resistance will settle for nothing less than a pro-Western and militantly anti-Soviet government.

These simple steps should bolster the position of those fabled doves in the Kremlin.

SDI: Political Karate

THE WASHINGTON Summit seemed to sidestep the SDI issue, but, in fact, SDI was what the Summit was all about. The two sides remain far apart on the question, but the bottom line is that the present INF treaty, the prospective START negotiations on ICBMs, and the entire Gorbachev personality offensive are all aimed against SDI.

The Soviets are now saying that they and we must settle our differences over SDI if there is to be a START agreement on ICBMs. The U.S., though not speaking with an undivided voice, wants to separate START and SDI—a reasonable enough position, in itself: if you desire not to be nuked, then cut back on ICBMs and construct a missile defense. The question remains largely unexamined, however, whether we are in any sense safer with a 50 per cent reduction in ICBMs *without* SDI, which is what the Soviets are proposing.

The Soviets want to extend the ABM treaty, strictly interpreted, for ten years. This would preclude the testing and deployment of SDI for that period. The U.S. is offering six years under a broad interpretation, which would permit the program to move forward.

But of course, as Gertrude Stein might say, the issue is the issue is the issue, and the issue is our SDI program, which is already advanced enough to have a substantial effect on the strategic equation. Mr. Gorbachev did not come to the District of Columbia to view the Washington Monument and the giant pandas. His trip was an integral part of an overarching political effort to block SDI.

As usual, the Democrats are cooperating. All the Democratic presidential candidates oppose SDI. Senator Sam Nunn, the politically emasculated heir of the Scoop Jackson wing of the party, proposes a mini-SDI, sufficient to intercept a few accidentally launched missiles. In between visits to Managua, leading Democrats come home and assail SDI.

They say it won't work. Gorbachev knows better.

The Captains And the Kings Depart

BOWING TO the wishes of Spanish Prime Minister Felipe González, the United States agreed to withdraw the 401st Tactical Air Wing from Torrejón air base near Madrid. Though González had pledged to reject the air base months ago, the post-Summit, post-INF atmosphere of giving peace a chance undoubtedly strengthened his hand.

The 72 F-16s of the 401st, which serve as backup for NATO's southern flank, can probably go elsewhere —Italy, or Greece. The question is, will they? Peaceniks are already gearing up to oppose the planes in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Italy, and our bases in Greece are a long-standing sore point with the Papandreou government.

The question is particularly important in the world beyond the INF treaty. We can afford to pull the Pershings and cruises out of Europe, we are told, because conventional weapons can do the job. To do the job, though, they have to be there.

Our allies will probably need more, not fewer, F-16s. They'll have to agree to take them and help pay for them. Alternatively, they can build home-made substitutes. Realistically, they should do both.

Hey Hey!

"HEY HEY, ho ho, Western culture's gotta go," they're chanting out at Stanford, where leftist protestors are intent on replacing the university's required course in Western Culture. The course introduces freshmen to 15 acknowledged classics of Western thought from Plato to Mill, but . . . yes . . . is saturated with "European-Western and male bias" and "sexist and racist stereotypes." The protestors want to substitute another course that would include a non-Western culture and "works by women, minorities, and persons of color."

Talk about crude stereotyping. To see in the Bible, Dante, and Nietzsche nothing but a single perspective —filed under White Male—is about as far as you can go in coarse reductionism. The comical part is that the purge is being conducted in the name of "diversity"—a monotonous slogan for current leftist provincialism. The protestors haven't even found the authors they're going to replace Augustine and the boys with: all they know is that they'll include lots of women and minorities. That's real intellectual catholicity, man.

Actually, Stanford seems to be groaning under the intellectual tyranny of one overrepresented white male: Karl Marx. The genuine diversity of the Western Culture course is apparently more than the Left can handle.

Chiang Ching-kuo, RIP

HE SEEMED—son and heir of Chiang Kai-shek—like a holdover from a previous era; and indeed, at the end, his hold on life was very weak.

He believed, as his father had, that he was the rightful ruler of all China, a dream from the Forties (see also "Tomorrow in Taiwan," p. 64). But he left the country he actually ruled well-prepared for the Nineties, and beyond. Chiang followed the free-market course the first-generation Nationalists had marked out. Today, the island (once a Japanese colony), along with South Korea and Singapore, is breathing down Japan's neck.

The democratizing political process he set in motion before his death underlines, redundantly, the distinction between authoritarian and totalitarian regimes: the former often release their political grip; the latter never do.

Deng Xiaoping, another old Chinese leader, must envy Chiang's achievement. Deng's country struggles to introduce capitalist reforms; Chiang's has a prosperous and productive bourgeoisie. Deng's country has had to crack down on stirrings of political dissent; Chiang's has free and competing parties.

The president of Free China died at the age of 77.

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Editor
The Spectator
56 Doughty Street
London WC1N 2LL
England

Sirs:

Your issue of 2 January has just reached these shores. I read in it Mr. Peregrine Worsthorne's diary, as charming as it was apocryphal, composed as though he had spent a long night out with Taki. He writes that it is not "immediately obvious" to him why Mr. John O'Sullivan is leaving Downing Street "to edit a fairly obscure, right-wing American magazine." The obvious reason is captured in the adage, "*Tous les beaux esprits se rencontrent*"—in the spirit of Anglo-American comity, it is only fair that Mrs. Thatcher should share the hugely talented Mr. O'Sullivan with us, and only natural that he should move from the eudaemonistic center of Great Britain, to its counterpart in the United States. On the other matter, I don't quite know how Mr. O'Sullivan, as my deputy, can make NATIONAL REVIEW less obscure. Ours is the leading journal of opinion in the United States (circulation 122,000). At our Thirtieth Anniversary celebration a couple of years ago, the guests included the President of the United States and four members of his Cabinet. At our Twentieth Anniversary celebration, the principal speaker was Professor Michael Oakeshott, who once taught Mr. Worsthorne, though not quite enough.

Yours truly,
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

☐ Memo to: Our Readers
From: WFB

At the latest meeting of the editors, we decided on two innovative features.

The first, beginning next month, introduces a fort-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nightly "Commentator." The weekend before we go to press we will communicate with a Commentator, asking his thoughts on a contemporary subject of special interest. We will receive from the Commentator on Monday an essay our readers will have the following Monday (those of you who receive the magazine on Mondays).

We are pleased to announce our list of Commentators. They include Arnold Beichman, Peter Berger, Robert Bork, Milton Friedman, Leonard Garment, Suzanne Garment, George Gilder, Sidney Hook, Robert Jastrow, James Jackson Kilpatrick, Russell Kirk, Irving Kristol, Samuel McCracken, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Alan Reynolds, John Silber, Ernest van den Haag, and Peregrine Worsthorne.

We shall also be publishing, in every issue, a pocketful of statistical bonbons put together by Edwin Rubenstein. The figures Mr. Rubenstein, an economist, culls are refreshing, sometimes amusing, and always informative. Mr. Rubenstein has degrees from Johns Hopkins and Columbia Universities, and is the publisher of the newsletter *Right Data.*

☐ Dear Bill:

I wish to share a secret with you but you must not tell anyone.

It's more than just a similarity in personality. Look at the facial features very carefully.

Jim Wright is Sam Donaldson's father.

Sincerely,
Joseph A. C. Girone, MD
Telford, Pa.

☐ Memo to: WFB
From: Chilton [Williamson]

As you know, on my trip from the Wild West to Gotham last week, my luggage—containing, among other items, the unpublished-material files for the back-of-the-book—was stolen by marauding natives from a parked car behind St. Patrick's Cathedral. Although David Klinghoffer (my assistant) strives to maintain duplicate files in New York, he is missing copies of a few reviews. I request any contributor who has in recent months sent me a review, or reviews, as yet unprinted to mail copies of said material to David at *NR*, as well as to me, at 1025 Beech Avenue, Kemmerer, Wyoming 83101.

Ford, *Punch* / Rothco

"He denies the charges of insider trading and demands his one phone call to his broker."

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

On November 30, NBC had a television interview conducted by Tom Brokaw with the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, in which he admitted that the Soviet Union is also conducting research on their own Strategic Defense Initiative anti-missile system. In that interview he said something which most people heard, but didn't realize the significance of what he said. He said, "But we will not build an SDI, we will not deploy SDI, and we call upon the United States to act likewise. If the Americans fail to heed that call, we will find a response. It will be ten or a hundred times cheaper."

Do you realize what he is saying? That "cheaper response" is nuclear missiles. What else could it possibly be? Mikhail Gorbachev is saying that if we try to deploy SDI, then the Soviet Union will attack us before it can become operational.

Now, Mr. Buckley, I've noticed that most other letters in Notes & Asides have some kind of joke or humorous reference, or something to which you can give a humorous reply to. It seems to be a requirement if people want their letters published in this section. So here's the joke: Mikhail Gorbachev is saying that if we try to deploy SDI, then the Soviet Union will attack us.

Oh, so you don't think that's a funny joke, eh? Well, it must be a funny joke, because the liberal Democrats don't take the threat of the Soviet Union seriously.

Sincerely,
Peter K.
E., Ill.

P.S. Previously I sent a letter to NATIONAL REVIEW, hoping to get it published. It wasn't, and a postcard was sent to me to tell me that my letter would not get published. I hadn't known that you would do that. The problem is that I still live with my parents, and I don't want them to know that I am no longer a liberal Democrat. But if I were to get a postcard from a conservative magazine, NATIONAL REVIEW, telling me that my letter would not get published, they would probably realize that I am no longer a liberal Democrat. Luckily that postcard came when my parents weren't home. So please, whether or not you publish this letter, please do not send me any mail.

Dear Mr. K: W- pr----e. Cordially, **—WFB**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The "BUCK" starts here...

Pat Buchanan is back!

Yes, he's back. Pat Buchanan is once again penning a pointed, insightful column about national affairs. Now, when you subscribe to the CONSERVATIVE CHRONICLE, you get two Buchanan columns printed in full every week along with the opinions of over 24 other distinguished columnists and 20 cartoonists with conservative appeal.

Buchanan revived his respected column after serving on the Reagan administration as communications director and assistant to the president. Previously an assistant to Presidents Nixon and Ford, he offers an insider's look at the workings of government and a behind-the-scenes perspective on policy-making in Washington.

Read Buchanan's "Dividing Line" feature in every CONSERVATIVE CHRONICLE along with George F. Will, William F. Buckley, Jr., Donald Lambro, Jeane Kirkpatrick and many others.

To get Buchanan and a great line-up of his conservative contemporaries, call toll free or mail coupon and take advantage of an exceptional value — 52 issues of the CONSERVATIVE CHRONICLE for only $36.00 — with a money back guarantee!

CONSERVATIVE CHRONICLE

CALL TOLL FREE 1-800-558-1244
(In Iowa call collect 515-456-2585)

Box 29
Hampton, Iowa 50441

YES I accept your subscription offer of 1 year (52 issues) for $36.00 (add $20.00 for foreign postage). I understand I can obtain a full refund on unmailed copies at any time.

Payment Method

☐ Check Enclosed ☐ Visa ☐ M.C. ☐ AX ☐ Bill Me

Card # _____ Exp. Date _____

Name _____

Address _____

_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"THE BEST OF THE BLACKFORD OAKES SERIES...

readers will enjoy the sheer exuberance of this all too plausible, high-flying thriller."
—*Publishers Weekly*

The Blackford Oakes Novel
By WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Bill Buckley and his celebrated fictional superspy Blackford Oakes open the secret dossier on the Kennedy years... and a covert operation that balances the fate of one man —or millions.

Photo: Jan Lucas

"The BEST of the Blackie books, here is an entertainment of the Graham Greene order which truly entertains, excites, and edifies....In short, a good read...an exciting, informative novel in the mode of *Day of the Jackal*."
—Barnaby Conrad

"Buckley demonstrates once again why he's America's top spy novelist..." —*Penthouse*

"Buckley's BEST Blackford Oakes thriller....Gripping."
—*Kirkus Reviews*

Troll Book Club Main Selection

Now at your bookstore
RANDOM HOUSE

A Blackford Oakes Novel
WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

MONGOOSE R.I.P.

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.
MONGOOSE R.I.P.
RANDOM HOUSE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

...IN EVERYBODY'S OPINION.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 13, 1988

Fact Meets Fiction in CIA-Castro Thriller

By CASPAR W. WEINBERGER

In "Mongoose, R.I.P." (Random House, 322 pages, $17.95), the latest of the Blackford Oakes spy novels, we are treated to the extraordinarily ingenious imagination and the facile (though in this case, the considerably restrained) prose of William F. Buckley Jr., as he re-creates, and considerably enlarges upon, the days between the Cuban missile crisis and the assassination of John F. Kennedy.

This is one of the most exciting, rapidly paced and compelling of Mr. Buckley's

Bookshelf

"Mongoose, R.I.P."

By William F. Buckley Jr.

novels, and the plot is such an admixture of fact and fiction that there is both an immediacy and a seriousness far more evident than in the earlier Oakes stories, which were more purely fiction.

What we have here is that exceptionally vivid imagination of the author brought to bear on historical facts, and the result is a thoroughly fascinating exploration into what might have been, or perhaps what actually was—we are never quite sure. This book is so realistic, much of it seems like revisionist history. In fact, the author feels it necessary to advise readers at the end that it is a "work of fiction."

Mr. Buckley has imagined what might have happened if the Soviets had in fact not taken all their missiles out of Cuba when they promised to do so, but instead cheated, as they have so often done with their other agreements, by leaving one missile behind, hidden even from the Cubans. The essence of the intricate plot is what effect this rogue missile has on the Central Intelligence Agency's various plans to eliminate Fidel Castro.

These plans were assigned the code name Mongoose, and it must be reported that our side, and in fact even the ubiquitous Blackford Oakes, does not come out of this story with very much credit. Oakes, normally urbane and quite funny, and always resourceful and skilled, is distracted much of this book by the loss of his longtime companion, and virtual fiancee, Sally Partridge, to a handsome, but not fully realized Mexican attorney named Morales, who is also involved in helping the agency try to dispose of Castro. To be fair, Morales is not a fully realized character because he is not with us very long.

But there is a parade of Cuban resistance fighters, as well as several Castro intimates, and Castro himself, all of whom emerge from these pages as very human, flesh-and-blood characters with a few more than normal foibles.

The action races back and forth from Washington to Mexico to Cuba and Miami, and, since the author is so much at home in all these places, so is the reader.

Mr. Buckley conveys, with great deftness and economy of prose, atmosphere, attitudes and, above all, great tension and suspense. And the intermingling of fact, fiction and slightly twisted and expanded history is so extraordinarily well handled that an almost eerie sense of realism is imparted to the whole work. Indeed at one point William F. Buckley Jr. himself appears briefly, in the manner of Alfred Hitchcock's cameo appearances in his own films.

A short soliloquy, in which JFK reasons out his Cuban problems after the Bay of Pigs, is almost as authentic as a tape recording. While one is in no position to pass similar judgment on Castro's conversation as recorded here, it sounds the way one imagines Castro would talk when he is offstage.

Indeed that is the feature that makes the novel such a fine and exciting read. It is completely believable, and as fast-paced as a rapidly developing news story, with all the background usually missing from news stories filled in for us.

Castro, surprisingly enough, comes through rather better than one would have expected, although his more deplorable characteristics are not hidden and his judgment at the climactic moment is, shall we say, seriously flawed. But Castro survives all of Operation Mongoose's many facets, sometimes by what appears to be blind luck, sometimes by the operation of what we know is an intelligence service of some skill. And while Mr. Buckley fortunately is no John Le Carre, who always seems to delight in the blunders and weaknesses of our side, nevertheless "Mongoose, R.I.P." doesn't show our covert activities in the best light. But Mr. Buckley is dealing with history and, properly, he is willing only to substitute his imagination to add to history, and not to change it significantly.

Finally, a most welcome feature of this story, as has been the case with all of the Oakes series, is that the critically important, and frequently highly dangerous work that is done by our CIA and other intelligence people is treated with respect, quiet admiration, and with a full appreciation of its importance to our security. This is a first-class novel that offers the reader a generous illustration of its author's enormous skill in entertaining, instructing and ultimately fascinating us with his brilliance, which is the rare and welcome hallmark of Bill Buckley.

Mr. Weinberger is a former secretary of defense.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'88 HILL ANTICS

BISMARCK once remarked that legislation is like sausage: it's better not to watch it being made. 1988 will prove him right again.

The 100th Congress is halfway over. Despite alarmist predictions to the contrary, Democratic control of the Senate—reasserted in the 1986 elections—did not spell the end of the Reagan Administration. The White House emerged from 1987 without having to veto a protectionist trade bill, without congressional action forcing the removal of the U.S. naval task force from the Persian Gulf, with marginal Contra aid intact, and with sufficient maneuvering room to cut a deal with the Soviet Union by which intermediate-range nuclear missiles are removed from Europe and the Strategic Defense Initiative is left intact, at least for now. And, most unexpected, Democratic Senator Sam Nunn—alarmed by what he perceives as the potential vulnerability of the United States strategic arsenal under the terms of the proposed START agreement that Mr. Reagan might initial during his Moscow visit this summer—is jockeying behind the scenes to add mobile ICBMs to the U.S. arsenal.

That said, 1988 still looks like a year of confrontation. With the Democrats controlling the legislative branch and the Republicans holding the Presidency, we are set for a classic partisan confrontation geared to the presidential election. Ever since Truman beat Dewey by running against the "do-nothing" 80th Congress, legislators and Presidents have been fully aware of the campaign value of staging legislative showdowns.

In 1988, Washington pundits expect Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd to use his legislative powers to the fullest in staging such partisan confrontations, starting with the House and Senate votes on Contra aid February 3 and 4. Last year Congress parceled out a measly $14 million to tide the Contras over until 1988. President Reagan must now decide whether to ask for enough money to keep the Contras going until the next President takes office.

Before the defection of Sandinista Major Roger Miranda, a key aide to the Nicaraguan defense minister, money for the Contras looked doomed. But Miranda's defection triggered a Sandinista admission that plans are afoot to build a 590,000-man army and hold on to power no matter what the outcome of elections in Nicaragua. Costa Rican President Oscar Arias has been scrambling ever since to justify his Nobel Peace Prize. Instead of declaring a truce, both the Sandinistas and the Contras have stepped up the war. Most recently, Daniel Ortega says he will talk directly to the Contras, doubtless a concession fashioned to thwart U.S. congressional aid. But Ortega's credibility is so low on the Hill that the vote is too close to call.

In early March the Senate is expected to vote on ratification of the INF accord. Little controversy is expected, and President Reagan will be able to declare victory on that front. Another victory, largely a pyrrhic one, will come in January or February with the confirmation of Supreme Court nominee Anthony Kennedy.

The omnibus trade bill will have rougher sailing. Stalled since autumn over the House addition of the Gephardt Amendment and its stiff conditions for handling nations with trade surpluses, the Senate bill also contains punitive sanctions against Toshiba Machine Company for its role in diverting to the Soviets technology enabling them to build harder-to-detect submarines. Look for this showdown in early spring. Older legislative business, such as catastrophic-illness insurance and welfare reform, is not likely to offer the best opportunities for the Democrats.

Instead, watch for them to focus on President Reagan's budget, loaded with targets for Democratic campaign antics. Here's the scenario as the White House sees it. Senator Byrd & Co. will track proposed domestic spending cuts, and dramatically up the ante in social-welfare spending, health care, education, and other "compassion items" such as the minimum wage. They will also pass individual appropriations bills that would bust the President's budget, daring him to either 1) veto the spending bills or 2) let the budget go out of control.

Showdown

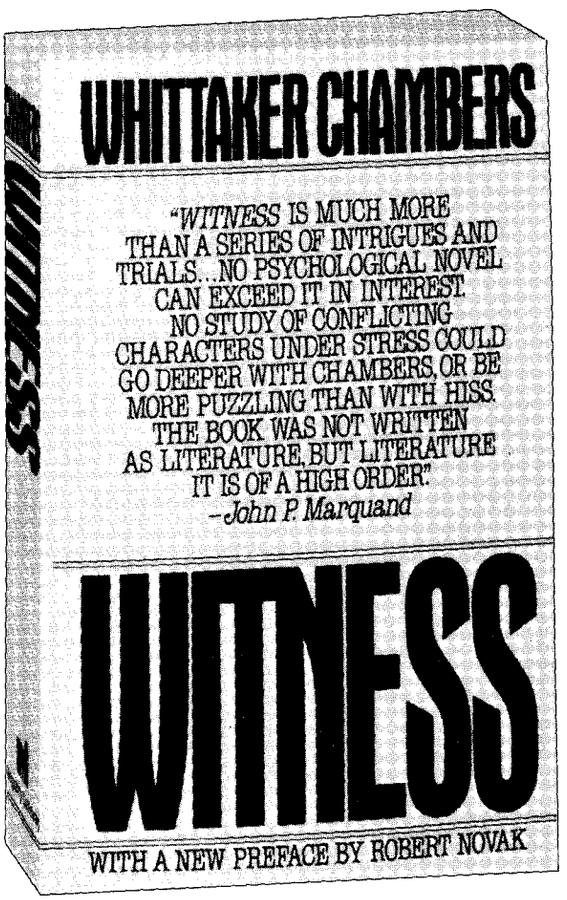
THAT SCENARIO will confront the Administration with a choice between good politics and good government, with the Republican presidential contenders nervously awaiting the outcome. In similar circumstances, most Administrations would submit what is known as a "campaign budget," but OMB Director James Miller is working on a proposal that continues to meet deficit-reduction goals. That will mean substantial spending reductions, setting the stage for a major battle. Administration strategists are hoping that voters 1) will find Byrd's tactics transparent and 2) will not be shocked, after seven years of struggles over the budget, by a showdown between big-spending Democrats and fiscally austere Republicans.

Byrd's tactics could backfire. Public-opinion polls show that Congress and the White House receive equal blame for the deficit problem. Confrontation over spending bills in 1988 may tip the balance of blame back into the Democratic Party's lap. If that happens, the Republican nominee may still be able to run against the "tax and spend" Democrats of 1980 instead of the new Democratic Party so diligently shaped by Paul Kirk. In any event, the New Year promises to be legislatively entertaining. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For Lovers of the Rare and Wonderful

One of the great books of our time!


WHITTAKER CHAMBERS
"WITNESS IS MUCH MORE THAN A SERIES OF INTRIGUES AND TRIALS...NO PSYCHOLOGICAL NOVEL CAN EXCEED IT IN INTEREST. NO STUDY OF CONFLICTING CHARACTERS UNDER STRESS COULD GO DEEPER WITH CHAMBERS, OR BE MORE PUZZLING THAN WITH HISS. THE BOOK WAS NOT WRITTEN AS LITERATURE, BUT LITERATURE IT IS OF A HIGH ORDER."
–John P. Marquand
WITNESS
WITH A NEW PREFACE BY ROBERT NOVAK

Witness is an American classic, one of the select few books that every literate conservative simply must have. If you have read it you know how true that is; if you haven't, here is the perfect opportunity to get your own personal copy of this masterpiece in a handsome new edition absolutely *FREE and postpaid* (see offer below).

About the book . . .

It's no overstatement to say that *Witness* is one of the greatest books of this century. Once you pick it up you will be hard put to lay it aside. In one sense, it's sheer spine-tingling melodrama with all the elements of a superb mystery/spy-thriller. Yet, it's all true, the unforgettable story of one man's lonely struggle that, in the end, becomes Everyman's struggle against tyranny and materialism. If you've ever wondered why so many intellectuals become Communists you'll find the answer here in this shocking acount of the Communist Fifth Column in America by a man who was there and took part in it, and who names names.

As John P. Marquand wrote, "*Witness* is much more than a series of intrigues and trials. . . . No psychological novel can exceed it in interest. No study of conflicting characters under stress could go deeper with Chambers, or be more puzzling than with Hiss. The book was not written as literature, but literature it is of a high order." Amen.

Unfortunately, *Witness* has been out of print for so long that a whole generation has grown up largely unaware of the treasure that awaits them in this remarkable book. But now it is once again available, complete and unabridged, a new and high-quality soft-cover edition. This new edition sells for $11.95 retail, but you can get it FREE and postpaid. Simply enter your subscription to *National Review* (or extend your present subscription for 25 more issues, no matter when it is due to expire) at the regular $36 yearly rate, and we'll send a brand-new copy of *Witness* to you posthaste. (Remember, we pay all postage and handling—another big saving for you.)

So, if you don't already have a copy of *Witness* in your home be sure you get a copy now (every member of your family will benefit from this one). If you do own a copy of *Witness*, you can still subscribe or renew (something we hope you'll be doing eventually anyway) and use the book as a gift where it will do the most good. In any event, act now. Fill out the handy card facing this page and send it to us today.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Richard Brookhiser

KEMP AT THE CROSSROADS

Lew Anderson

IT WAS TEN in the morning off Route 35, the interstate that runs from Kansas City to Des Moines to Minneapolis. The temperature was zero, warmer than yesterday. Factory smoke over Ames, two miles off, stood like sculpture. The parking lot of the Starlight Village Restaurant was slick as glass. The sign read WELCOME/ JACK KEMP.

The event was a rally and pep talk for the Kemp organization of Story County. The Uncommitted were very much welcome. "I'm just checkin' it out," I overheard several times in the meeting room inside. After three straight elections marked by slavish political courtship and media attention, Iowa caucus voters are about as unsophisticated as John Sears. They clip their coupons and comparison-shop; if they don't like what they see at Woolworth's, they'll go to Neisner's. The Kemp people had set up piano, lectern, coffee and orange juice, and chairs for a hundred. When the chairs filled up, Starlight Village rolled back an accordion wall and set up a hundred more.

"Good morning, everybody!" Kemp irrupted into the back of the room. When you hear Kemp's hoarse, scratchy voice you want to give him tea with honey and lemon. Did some defensive lineman, you wonder, sit on his throat 25 years ago? His hair is greyer than some of his older rivals'. The rest of the physical plant is in excellent shape; Kemp weighs only 12 pounds more than he did when he was a quarterback.

Kemp made his way, working the tables, to the front of the room, where there was a more formal introduction. A child, a "Kid for Kemp," recited Leviticus 25:10, the verse on the Liberty Bell: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land," then sang, with 11 peers, *I'm thank-ful to be an American, I'm proud of the red, white, and blue* . . . An adult for Kemp added that Kemp had been "a fighter all his life." No one thought he would do well in football. "But he fooled 'em."

No one, for that matter, who heard the first two Republican debates expected him to do well in the third, which had been held in Des Moines under the aegis of the *Des Moines Register* the night before. Kemp's vices as a speaker are well known. He stomps cruelly on all his applause lines; his digressions spawn digressions; wherever he picks up a question, he takes it on a joy ride through economics. Kemp is also said to suffer from an intellectual inferiority complex. "There is some of him," Representative Trent Lott has said, "that wants to make sure people know he can do more than call plays." Another way of putting it is that Kemp holds ideas in unfashionably high esteem. When he learns a phrase like *élan vital*, it excites him, and he uses it. No graduate of Harvard or Yale would make such a *faux pas*. In the format of the TV debate, which is an impromptu haiku contest, Kemp's vices become particularly vicious.

But in Des Moines, he surprised them once again. He surprised me, anyway. Kemp's answers were calm and collected; he picked off his target audiences with slow, sure shots. The stock market slipped 140 points today, said James Gannon of the *Register*. Could America stand four more years of Reaganomics? "I don't think anyone understands the strengths and weaknesses of Reaganomics better than Jack Kemp," Kemp replied. Cutting tax rates in 1981 created jobs. "Do we have problems? You bet." Kemp began his favorite complaint about the instability of the dollar, but Gannon, uninterested in currency, wanted to know about the deficit. Revenues, Kemp said, have been up; the problem is that, thanks to a liberal Democratic Congress, spending has been up more. When Pat Schroeder, the guest Democratic questioner, returned to the subject, Kemp added that bringing interest rates down would reduce debt service by $80 to $90 billion.

The intra-Republican questions and answers were determined by lot. Dole drew a chance at Kemp, and asked

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

him about AIDS. Kemp, as Dole acknowledged, has done more thinking about AIDS than most candidates; he chose to emphasize the moral planks of his AIDS platform. "We've got to teach young people there's right and wrong, good and evil . . . [that] there are Judaeo-Christian values. We shouldn't shy away from suggesting our country was founded on them." That was for the evangelicals. The answer to another Schroeder question, on the West Bank riots, was for Jewish supporters. "I would veto in the UN any attack on Israel for dealing with a problem that has been exacerbated by the PLO." His peroration was for America. "People all over the world have two homelands, theirs and America. America is the only country on this earth where people riot to stay in . . . prison camps. To be an American means to care about the world; to export democracy and capitalism to all the world." With Bush and Dole throwing ice balls at each other, and Haig sticking to Bush's leg like a thirsty lamprey, and Robertson smiling and shrugging and saying that, no ma'am, it isn't fair to hold me to anything I said before, because now I'm running *for President*—with all that going on around him, Kemp didn't look half bad.

"We're here to proclaim liberty throughout the world," Kemp told the crowd in the Starlight Village. "Thomas Jefferson did not proclaim those rights for one time and place." He started to say that we should be grateful for our rights, and said it at greater and greater length, until the train of thought had too many cabooses. He retrieved himself with Churchill's crack about terminal prepositions —"this is the sort of nonsense up with which I will not put"—and started again. "We have six good candidates. They *all* did well last night." This, from a man who must kill and bury five of them? What was he saying? He was saying that the Democrats are worse. "The Democratic Party is not the Democratic Party you and I grew up with. Imagine saying these words," and he recited the Camelot credo: Go any where, pay any price, bear any burden. "Today the Jim Wright, Bobby Byrd, Carter-McGovern party wouldn't pay the price of freedom in *this* hemisphere. Whoever we are for," by contrast, "let's bring a sense of cause, of dedication.

"So, let me say first of all . . ."

Clearly, the old Kemp is still with us. Kemp's flacks assured me that the Des Moines debate is typical of his current style, and the Ames speech was a rare roll off the wagon. I report it as I heard it, however, for despite his best efforts, Kemp's point of view always comes through.

One thing that had bothered him the night before was the "lack of optimism." "With all due deference to our problems, we have neglected the *élan vital* of our country." Fortunately, though, "we've been through the worst" of "Malthusian, pessimistic, Darwinian" thinking.

The first issues he addressed were economic. A "stable"—i.e., golden—dollar would lead to stable interest rates. Kemp has been arguing this for years. "People trade with each other," he told the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta in a 1982 speech, "because they believe they will not be defrauded by a change in the currency. If they stop believing that, they stop lending, or else charge exorbitant insurance premiums against the risk. This is why interest rates are so high, and why only monetary reform can bring them down." He told the Starlight that he had paid a 5 per cent home mortgage in 1960, when he played for the Chargers; today, his son, playing for the Seahawks, pays 10.5 per cent. Is it ordained? "No way. Absolutely not." He asked his audience to consider the effect a 5 per cent prime rate would have on housing, farming, the auto industry, commodity prices. "No other campaign is pledged to a plan to lower interest rates."

The second cluster of issues was defense. He repeated a line he had used in the debate, to good effect. "I'm not a hawk. I'm a dove." Wait a beat. "Heavily armed." He detoured briefly to praise the wonders of science. He had seen free-electron lasers at Lawrence Livermore Laboratory that could kill cancer cells. Similar lasers (the detour closed) could be used in SDI. "We should be the party of technology." Applause.

"Finally, all these important things" (he ticked off a long list of things he had not yet mentioned, including getting the Russians out of Kabul) "shrink in significance if we lose the archstone of the family." A cry of, *Right on!* Conservatives, he cautioned, shouldn't be "moral authoritarians." But they should insist that the law not "break the family up." During the debate, he had noted approvingly that the dependent deduction had been increased from $1,000 to $2,000. He proposed increasing it to $4,000 for families that adopt. "We've got to find an alternative to abortion." Serious applause.

"We need a candidate," he wound up, who could speak to evangelical Christians, ethnic Catholics, and Jews; to young and old; to Democrats; to Hispanics. "If you want to join a radical, progressive, revolutionary, conservative Republican campaign for President, I'd like to urge, suggest, ask—I'll do everything but beg . . . maybe I'll beg [laugh]" his listeners to join him. His last memory: a speech in Miami in which he had assigned a Biblical tag to Ecclesiastes. A rabbi had called out that it was really from Proverbs, and added, "That's okay. Same author." He ended, as he began, with the Declaration of Independence, by a different author, but still, for him, a sacred text. "We must export it to a waiting world. God bless you. God bless America. Thank you."

JACK FRENCH KEMP was born in 1935 in Los Angeles. His father built a motorcycle delivery business into a trucking firm; his mother was a social worker.

Sports was his early life. For a school paper on a famous invention, he chose the forward pass. He played football through high school and Occidental College, then spent three years trying to make it in the pros. NFL teams traded him for paltry sums, the Canadian League wouldn't take him. The American Football League was his salvation. In 1961, the Army forbade him to go with his reserve unit to the Berlin Crisis because of an injured left shoulder; but he played on. In 1962, he took his family (he had married his college sweetheart) from San Diego to Buffalo, where he led the Bills to two AFL titles. He still proudly wears his championship rings. He also has a permanently crooked finger. An injury and continual playing ruined the joint. When doctors told him it would have to be fixed in one position, Kemp curved it around a football, and said, "Make it like that."

Kemp's horizons were already shifting. In the mid-Sixties, he read Friedrich Hayek's *The Constitution of Liberty*, then everything else he could get his hands on. Herb Klein, edi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lew Anderson

tor of the *San Diego Union*, met him, encouraged him, arranged for him to do an internship with newly elected California Governor Ronald Reagan. (The stint with Reagan was the source of the homosexuality rumor that has dogged Kemp fitfully for two decades. There was a homosexual clique on Reagan's staff, which was exposed by Drew Pearson. Kemp's only connection with it was that he had owned a share in a Lake Tahoe condo which they once used for an orgy.) In 1970, his football career behind him, he was recruited by Buffalo-area Republicans to run for Congress. His winning percentages in nine elections have ranged from the solid fifties to the mid nineties.

He kept up with his reading. When he first met Irving Kristol, the godfather told the young congressman to look up some articles in *The Public Interest*. The next time they met, Kemp had read every one and had questions. He discovered Jude Wanniski in the pages of the *Wall Street Journal*. Gary Hart talks about new ideas—Kemp had one. For ten years, supply-side economics has been a focus—icon, or butt—of political debate.

As an office-seeker, Kemp was less venturesome. 1980 was an all-round bungle. James Buckley eyed the Senate seat of the ailing Jacob Javits, but gave Kemp first dibs and reluctantly made his comeback run in Connecticut instead. At the last minute, Javits decided to run again, whereupon Kemp backed off. Buckley lost, Javits lost, and Alfonse D'Amato became New York's Republican senator. Two years later, Governor Hugh Carey retired, but Kemp passed again. Lewis Lehrman, a political tyro, came within two percentage points of beating Mario Cuomo.

The only office Kemp was sure he wanted was the Oval one. Kempites talked of running him in 1980, but Kemp came out early for Reagan. For two terms, higher things were put on hold. Which means he has been campaigning actively for three and a half years.

KEMP DOES NOT score 100 per cent on all conservative issues. Kemp, who helped found the AFL players' union, has cast a number of pro-union votes over the years. These have not been major issues in this election. Social Security has. Iowa has the sixth largest percentage of retirees in its population of any state in the nation, and Kemp has pursued them relentlessly. He hammers du Pont and Robertson for floating opt-out schemes, and scolds Bush and Dole for supporting an abortive COLA freeze in 1986. He sees Social Security as a "pro-family" program; he foresees no trust-fund shortfall, given steady economic growth. Philosophical reservations about a compulsory, uniform system trouble him not at all.

Social Security aside, he has been right on every salient issue, early and loudly. He hit George Shultz for meeting Oliver Tambo, and warned over a year ago that an unsatisfactory Afghan deal was in the works at State. When Sam Nunn went on his crusade for a narrow interpretation of the ABM treaty, Kemp asked the reasonable question: "Why should we resolve treaty ambiguities in favor of the Soviet position?" When protectionist passions boiled, Kemp and Phil Gramm proposed attaching a consumer-impact statement to any trade bill. He has called SDI "the greatest peace initiative of our time," and the INF treaty "a nuclear Munich." When Jim Wright and Oscar Arias began spawning Central American peace plans, Kemp branded them "a dead end for freedom." When Judge Bork started to slide down the tubes, Kemp called for a TV ad campaign. Black Monday found him with his powder dry. "The trouble with this theory [that the deficit caused the crash] is that the deficit has fallen nearly 30 per cent in the last year."

So what's gone wrong?

Since, except for the Hundred Years' War known as the Michigan delegate-selection process, no one has yet cast a real live vote for anything, by *wrong* I mean wrong with movement activists and pundits. Sensible men would have predicted a solid front behind Kemp. Sensible men did. "Conservatives have given their hearts to Kemp," I wrote in *The Outside Story* (1986), "but they will be asked to believe that they are married to George Bush. . . . The main event will be between these two."

Clearly this hasn't happened. Bush and Dole each have their tithe of conservatives. Robertson looks strong, and du Pont can't be completely written off. For a year, there was an open audition of right-wing chorus girls—Buchanan, Laxalt, Kirkpatrick.

There have been explicit complaints. Last September, Chilton Williamson Jr., M. E. Bradford, and three other conservatives wrote a letter to *NR* saying that they had "serious doubts" about Kemp's convictions and political smarts. Later that fall, Paul Gottfried, one of the Doubting Five, wrote in *Policy Review* that an informal poll of "Old Right intellectuals" showed Bush and Dole leading Kemp, on the grounds that they wouldn't raise expectations "they will then likely disappoint." (Push that one far enough, and we should all back Mario.) In last month's *Reason*, Ed Crane flayed Kemp's Social Security position.

Crane is a libertarian. What's eating the conservatives?

Unity may simply be an unrealistic expectation. In January 1980, there were conservatives lined up behind Bush, Crane, and Connally, as well as Ronald Reagan.

Kemp's New York ditherings six and eight years ago hurt him in what should be his political and fundraising base now. If he had run for the Senate or the governorship, even unsuccessfully, every New York congressman would be for him today. He didn't make that investment in their loyalties, and most of them are for Bush.

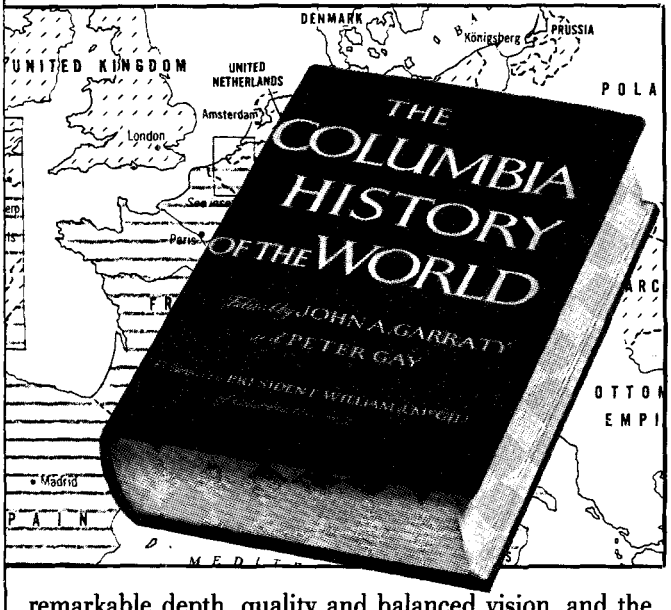
(Continues on page 61)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Columbia University Presents

The History of the World in One Brilliant Volume!

This classic work represents the best efforts of Columbia University's most renowned scholars. Its scope is monumental, covering all aspects of our history from the beginning of the universe to the present day. Add to this its remarkable depth, quality and balanced vision, and the result is a volume of unrivaled scholarship and authority.



The Story Behind the *Columbia History*

The creation of the *Columbia History* was among the most important scholarly projects of recent years. A team of 40 Columbia professors collaborated on it, including historians, economists, political scientists, sociologists, biologists and astronomers. Each scholar contributed sections on his subject or period of expertise. Editors Peter Gay and John A. Garraty, both eminent historians and writers, interwove the material into a cogent narrative of the world's history.

A Book of Permanent Value—for Only $9.95

Unlike most books today, the *Columbia History* has enough reading material for several lifetimes of reading. Over the years, you'll turn to the *Columbia History* to explore new areas of interest and reread the sections that have always fascinated you. You will have an ever-growing understanding of Western civilization's origins and progress, plus an expanding awareness of non-Western history and culture. *The Columbia History* is a perfect addition to anyone's library because it is both a well-written historical narrative and an authoritative reference work.

Most books of this scope, size, and permanent value sell for exorbitant prices, but thanks to Barnes & Noble's 60% discount, the *Columbia History* costs only *$9.95*. Surely, that's a small price to pay for a life-long investment in learning and a reference you'll turn to often.

Why Everyone Needs a World History

Let's face it—most of us, whatever our educational credentials, have large gaps in our knowledge of history. There are whole eras and countries we know nothing about; even in familiar subjects, we're sometimes a bit hazy on the sequence of events. A book of world history, particularly an excellent one like the *Columbia*, can fill the gaps in our learning and give us a solid chronological framework. Nearly 100 distinctively drawn and rigorously reasearched maps visually document the world as it evolved from the ancient past to the brooding present. 1,237pp.

SPECIAL OFFER
60% Discount
Published at $25.00
NOW ONLY $9.95

Barnes & Noble
Booksellers Since 1873

126 FIFTH AVE.,
DEPT C146,
N.Y., N.Y. 10011

1041631. Please rush me___copies of the *Columbia History of the World* at your special sale price of $9.95(plus $1.50 postage and handling). N.Y., N.J., MASS. and PA. residents: Please add sales tax.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip_____

✓ *Charge It!* ☐ American Express Card ☐ MasterCard ☐ ☐ VISA

Account # _____ Exp.

Signature _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARMS CONTROL: THE UNTOLD STORY

A CHILL WIND was blowing as half a dozen women, middle-class gypsies of the British peace movement, sat around the campfire. One duffel-coated figure was slicing mushrooms (toadstools?) into a much-used frying pan. Nearby stood a beat-up, Sixties-style Volkswagen bus. Behind us stretched the chain-link fence of the U.S. Air Force base at Greenham Common. Some time after midnight, one of the peace women told me, 16 cruise missiles would be driven out of the base gate—the "Woad Gate," the women called it—and down the winding roads of Berkshire on a "dispersal exercise."

The Americans acquired the Greenham base after World War II, and for years the U.S. Air Force used the long runway for training missions. Then the local residents of Newbury (Dick Francis country) began to complain about the noise of the warplanes. So the bombers were moved elsewhere, or phased out altogether, and were replaced in 1983 by 96 cruise missiles—flying torpedoes with nuclear warheads, mounted on trucks. They can fly at hedge-hopping heights (evading radar), and strike within a few feet of their target. This means cruise missiles don't even have to be nuclear (the amount of explosive force needed being inversely proportional to accuracy). Conventionally armed cruise missiles, it is now believed, could have been used instead of F-111 bombers in the 1986 bombing raid on Libya, perhaps striking Qaddafi's tent directly.

The local residents don't object to the cruise missiles because they don't make any noise. Not one cruise missile has been so much as test-fired from British (or European) soil. But they can be driven about on their trucks within a hundred-mile radius of the base. They are "road-mobile," in the arms-control jargon. And their strategic value was thought to derive from this mobility. It's not so easy to target a missile that has moved a hundred miles overnight.

But, though the locals were happy, the peace movement was not, and so the women of Greenham Common began their prolonged encampment outside the chain-link fence. Whenever the missiles are driven outside the gates, the peace-lovers, gathered into an organization called Cruise Watch, board their jalopies and follow the military convoy down the winding roads. When they reach the "dispersal point" the peace people ring up all their friends and press contacts to announce the missiles' location. The London *Guardian*, a part of this network, has been known to publish the information.

All Political Views

THE CAMPERS told me that, when the missiles left that night, they would be on their way to a particular spot on Salisbury Plain. I asked them how they could know this, even before the exercise had begun. "How we know is three years' watching it," said one woman, surly and noncommittal, barely civil to this male interloper. (Men aren't allowed in the Greenham Common encampments at all after dark, I was told, and in fact many of the women refuse to talk to men at any time. A "high proportion" are lesbians, I was told a couple of days later by my sister, who joins Cruise Watch from time to time.)

"That land in there is common land," said another woman. "It belongs to the people of Newbury and Britain." I asked them if they weren't worried about helping the Soviets by publicizing the whereabouts of cruise missiles at all times.

They gave me a dark look—suggesting that they had heard this sort of thing before from notepad-carrying emissaries of Patriarchy and Hierarchy, but were willing to be patient and long-suffering one more time. Eventually I was instructed: "American paranoia about Russia being the enemy is ritually and greatly exaggerated."

I ritually noted that in my notepad and then asked about the Gulag.

Another look. This time I worried that one of them might inquire if I were by any chance an acquaintance of the dreaded Richard Perle.

"Don't know about that," was all they would say.

"I've got a Russian peace badge," one woman offered. I looked at her. Impossible to say whether she was naïve or deceptive.

Might as well go for broke, I thought. "Is there any Communist Party involvement in all this?"

They reacted quite calmly. "That's entirely up to individual women," I was told. Interesting, because when I had asked for their names, they refused to give them, saying that they should be regarded and described in the collective. But individuality was acceptable, evidently, for those whose "preference" was Communism.

"There's no official Communist Party backing," another said, not at all reassuringly.

"There are people here of all political views."

"We've even got a milkman." (Still hope for the proletariat, perhaps?)

"Any Thatcher supporters?" I asked.

Eyes rolled. Clearly I had gone too far and I would have to watch my tongue if I were to avoid being sent to Coventry.

They were hard at work preparing little clear-plastic bags of "gloop" (flour, water, and food-coloring) to throw at the convoy when it emerged from Woad Gate in the dead of night. Sometimes, they boasted, they stop the convoy completely by lying down in the trucks' path.

"Once one of us shoved a potato down an exhaust pipe," said a leather-capped specimen.

I asked them about the INF treaty,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STAYING TRIM, RUNNING LEAN.

Once the world leader in most manufacturing and service sectors, America is steadily losing ground. Our international competitors have borrowed and improved upon our technology, outpaced our productivity, and cut into our market share.

In 1960, the United States produced almost half of the world's automobiles. Today we command less than a quarter of the global market. Similar declines have been recorded in metals, machine tools, pharmaceuticals, semiconductors, computers, and other industries.

RESTRUCTURING FOR EFFICIENCY.

To reverse this trend, many American corporations are springing into action. In a massive wave of restructuring, they're streamlining their operations, weeding out unproductive assets, and trimming bureaucratic waste. Companies burdened by excessive diversification are divesting unrelated subsidiaries and returning to the core businesses they understand and manage best.

In the face of intense global competition, many corporations have learned the importance of staying trim and and running lean. Today's managers are also finding new ways to secure more efficient access to the capital markets in order to obtain long-term "patient" capital. This allows companies to compete more effectively in the global marketplace over the long-term.

HIGH YIELD BONDS SPUR GROWTH.

For more than 1,200 American businesses, that access has come through high yield or "junk" bonds. These debt securities, which are either unrated or rated below investment grade, provide the capital America's growing, midsized companies need to upgrade their plants and equipment, increase research and development, enhance productivity, and create new jobs. Above all, they help keep American industry globally competitive.

While high yield bonds have been a source of considerable misunderstanding, their issuers are achieving impressive results. Over the last three years, the 1,200 companies that have issued fixed-income securities rated less than investment grade have increased their revenues 32%, growing much faster than investment grade companies (12%). During the same period, the country's less than 800 investment grade companies lost 4% of their jobs, while high yield issuers increased employment by 24%.

GREATER OWNERSHIP INCENTIVES.

For many non-investment grade companies, these gains are the direct result of ownership incentives. While the managers of the large industrial companies own only about 1% of the businesses they run, among Drexel Burnham's high yield corporate clients, management ownership runs about 25%. Like America's early entrepreneurs, these corporate leaders have become the principal risk takers in the companies they manage. With their personal fortunes at stake, they can't afford to fall behind their competition, let productivity slide, or be overrun by waste and inefficiency.

No one can stop the progress of our international competitors. But we can step up the pace of American business. The 10,000 people of Drexel Burnham are doing just that. As the nation's leading underwriter and market-maker in high yield securities, Drexel Burnham is helping corporations direct their efforts toward a leaner, more profitable, and more competitive future.

CONTINUING THE DIALOGUE.

This has been a part of our continuing series on important, controversial and complex issues that challenge American competitiveness. For reprints of our entire series, write Frederick W. McCarthy, Drexel Burnham Lambert, 60 Broad Street, Room 1111, New York, New York 10004.

Drexel Burnham
Helping People Manage Change.

Member SIPC © 1992 Drexel Burnham Lambert Incorporated

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not at that time signed, but pending.

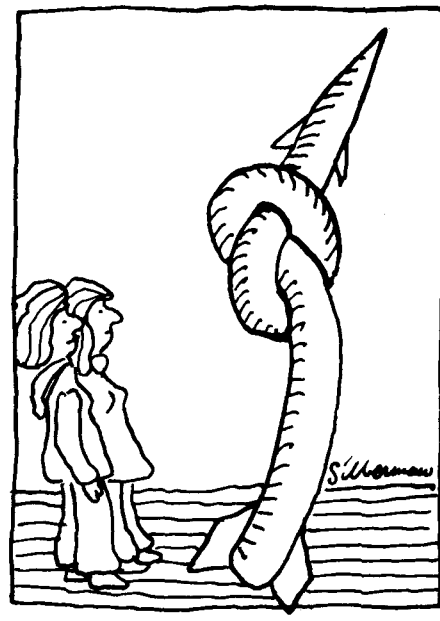
"The ground-launched cruise is useless," said one of the harridans, sounding surprisingly technical and up-to-the-minute in matters strategic. "The whole point is that they are supposed to be dispersed in secret."

"They've had about forty exercises so far and not one has been successful," said another. What she meant was that all the convoys had been successfully shadowed by Cruise Watch.

"Which quite possibly is why the Yanks are not heartbroken about dumping them," said the first.

She was right about that. What she was saying was that the Greenham women had won.

The Peace Brigades



Michael Silberman

THE FORCES that shaped the INF treaty were complex—constituting what in Washington is called an "interagency process." Obviously, the Pentagon could at some stage have stymied the agreement, but it did not. One reason, as the Greenham ladies suggested, is that land-based mobile missiles are politically unsustainable in Western democracies as currently constituted. As far back as 1979, when the decision was made by the Carter Administration to deploy intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF)—Chancellor Helmut Schmidt had threatened to withhold support for the ratification of the SALT II treaty if the U.S. weapons were *not* installed—Richard Perle opposed the move because he believed that the political cost would exceed the military benefit of Pershing and cruise missiles.

Recently I spoke to Perle's assistant, Frank J. Gaffney Jr., who quit his job in the Pentagon when the new Secretary of Defense, Frank Carlucci, did not promote him to the Assistant Secretary position vacated last spring by Perle. (Both Perle and Gaffney are now at the American Enterprise Institute.) I asked him if the effective immobilization of our European missiles had influenced America's willingness to sign an INF treaty.

"It was certainly a consideration for some who felt, as Richard [Perle] does, that these systems are not terribly meaningful militarily if they are not mobile," Gaffney said, adding that this view was not "universally shared." Others still feel that, despite the Greenham Common women's best efforts, the weapons do have military value. Others I spoke to, including Angelo Codevilla of the Hoover Institution, pointed out that the civil liberties of the peace brigades will get short shrift in wartime. But by then—by the time we know that we *are* in wartime and not peacetime—it could be too late. The not-so-mobile missiles could have already been obliterated.

A similar problem has arisen in West Germany. The Bonn government has "insisted on stringent restrictions upon off-base movements" of our Pershing II missiles, Gaffney said. Richard Perle earlier told me that it was impossible to drive the Pershings so much as a few kilometers down the Autobahn without stirring up numberless West Germans who fear the missiles that defend them more than the missiles aimed at them. Such people, and there are literally millions like them in the West, clearly view the Soviet rulers as Moloch: to be appeased with periodic sacrificial offerings of arms.

I am suggesting that in the INF treaty the U.S. gave up weapons that were in practice of little military value. For their part the Soviets will give up their SS-20 missiles, or at least those of them that they declared. (It is possible, Gaffney said, that the Soviets may have not declared as many as two hundred SS-20s.) But the SS-20 has now been superseded by the SS-25, another mobile missile, and one just as capable of hitting Western European targets as the SS-20. (The difference is that it is more modern and can also hit the United States.)

Stationing U.S. observers outside Soviet factory gates to make sure that SS-25s and not SS-20s emerge is therefore somewhat absurd. It's as if in 1964 General Motors had posted observers outside Ford Motor Co. factory gates, to double-check that only Mustangs, not Edsels, came driving out into the showrooms. I made this point to Arms Control Director Ken Adelman shortly before Mikhail Gorbachev arrived in Washington. (Adelman, too, has now retired to private life.) Adelman replied that Soviet arms-control negotiator Viktor Karpov had told him the same thing, and he didn't expect me and Viktor Karpov to be in agreement. To which I say: It is not safe to assume that the truth is *always* the opposite of what the Soviets say.

In any event, for the sake of protocol the Summit was decorous, played according to the unwritten rules of the arms-control game: a whole class of weapons abolished; actual reductions, not merely limits on buildup; we all sign on the dotted line; trust but verify; clink of champagne glasses; adieu from the tarmac.

"Yes, reason triumphed," said *Pravda*, "and while it is not yet the biggest victory, it has major significance both in political and in psychological terms." After seventy years, the major problem that still besets the Soviet rulers is the problem of legitimacy. For them, then, the Summit and the treaty signing were of real importance. Honor guards and honored status! Partners in the search for peace! The pre-eminent threats to peace were thereby transmuted into the co-guarantors of it, much as if Mafia bosses were invited to don black robes and join the judges on the bench. Major significance in psychological terms indeed!

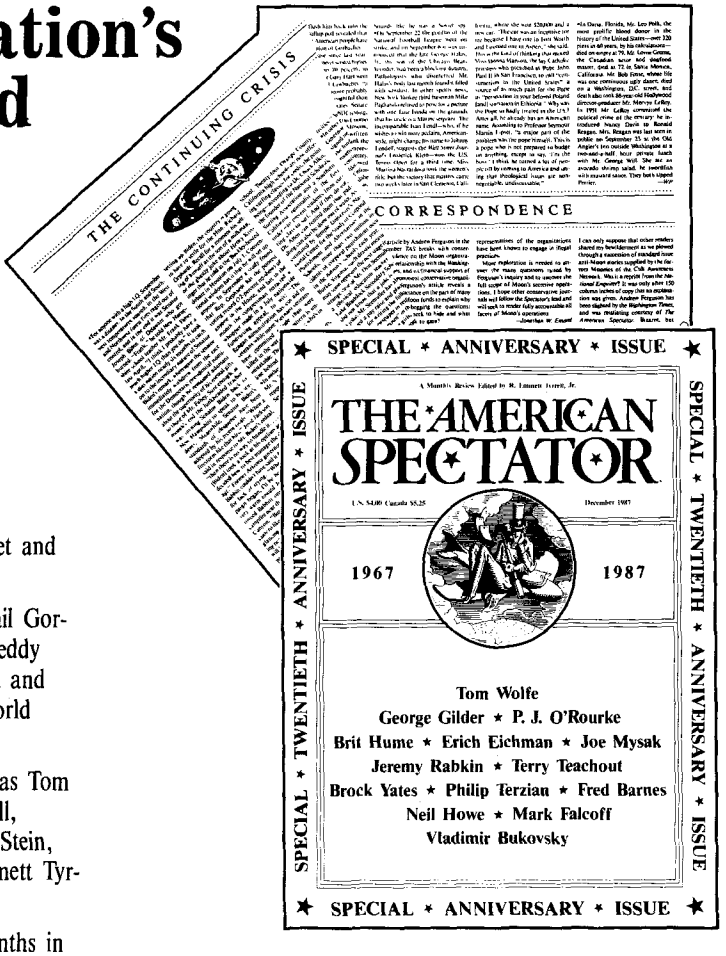
The Arms-Control Game

THE ARMS-CONTROL game is played as though it were a contest between two sides ("the two superpowers") whose forms of government are irrelevant to the threat that the missiles accumulated by one side pose to the other. This fiction is tenaciously observed—if it were not, the Soviets wouldn't play; they wouldn't "come to the table," as arms-controllers say. It is the first rule of arms control. There are several other, subordinate laws, or premises. From the first rule, by inexorable logic, the con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"... one of the nation's most energetic and sprightly journals of opinion."

—Time


THE CONTINUING CRISIS
CORRESPONDENCE
SPECIAL * ANNIVERSARY * ISSUE
THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR
1967
1987
Tom Wolfe
George Gilder * P. J. O'Rourke
Brit Hume * Erich Eichman * Joe Mysak
Jeremy Rabkin * Terry Teachout
Brock Yates * Philip Terzian * Fred Barnes
Neil Howe * Mark Falcoff
Vladimir Bukovsky
SPECIAL * TWENTIETH * ANNIVERSARY * ISSUE

The White House gets it . . . so do members of the Cabinet and Congress . . . and you should too. That is,

. . . if you'd love to give a hot foot to the likes of Mikhail Gorbachev . . . the Iran-Contra committee . . . Jesse Jackson, Teddy Kennedy, and People for the American Way . . . Jim Wright and Daniel Ortega . . . and every posturing, pompous, Third World diplomat.

. . . if you want the very best writing of such luminaries as Tom Wolfe, P. J. O'Rourke, Fred Barnes, Brit Hume, Tom Bethell, Thomas Sowell, George Gilder, Robert Novak, Benjamin J. Stein, and the **Spectator**'s founder and editor-in-chief, R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

. . . if you're interested in knowing today's gut issues months in advance of their making the national press and network news.

For example, long before the Reagan Administration issued its encouraging report on acid rain, Dixy Lee Ray was correcting the misinformation being spread by the alarmists. Long before homelessness and rent control hit the front pages and editorial columns, New York correspondent William Tucker was turning **Spectator** readers into experts on the subject. You could have learned what's at stake in nuclear testing and why the Natural Resources Defense Council is a dubious source on critical arms control verification issues with the Soviet Union.

And sometimes the **Spectator**'s impact has been immediate: within a week after Fred Barnes's cover story on "Senator Jello" Paul Trible hit the newsstands, the wayward Republican unexpectedly announced he would not run for reelection.

In short, **The American Spectator** is where the action is! And you're invited to get in on it and savor it!

What they say:

"... a superb magazine ..."

—Hon. Robert H. Michel

"... high quality, serious intellectual journal."

—The San Diego Union

"... outlined well in advance the logic of this week's 'dramatic' deal."

—The Wall Street Journal

"... influential ..."

The New York Times

FREE copy of 20th anniversary issue with prepayment!

THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR
P.O. Box 10448, Arlington, VA 22210

Open my trial subscription to **The American Spectator** (eight giant tabloid-sized issues) conveniently delivered right to me.

☐ Check for $16.00 enclosed. And for sending payment please rush my FREE copy of the **Spectator**'s 112 page 20th anniversary issue (retail value $4.00). Full refund guaranteed if I am not happy with my subscription.

☐ Bill me later for $16.00. I'll write "cancel" across the invoice, return it to you, and owe nothing if I am not pleased.

Name: _____
(please print)

Address: _____

City: _____

State: _____ Zip: _____

Canadian and foreign subscribers, please add $4 for postage. NR28

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clusion is derived that the "nuclear threat" resides in the technology itself. Thus the second rule: Nuclear Missiles Pose a Nuclear Threat. And from this emerges yet another axiom that arms-controllers live by: If nuclear weapons are threatening, then the more of them there are, the greater the threat. The third rule therefore reads: The Nuclear Threat Is Proportional to the Number of Nukes. (This would be perfectly true, of course, if nuclear missiles were unstable objects, periodically launching themselves out of their silos without human intervention.)

There are other key axioms: that It Is Threatening to the Other Side to Protect Your Own Side, for example. This axiom is accepted only by the Americans, incidentally. To his credit President Reagan has refused to accept this rule, at least in principle. (In practice he has abided by it.) Strategic Defense challenges the axiom, and that is why so many of our arms-control enthusiasts in the media refer to SDI as "Reagan's Star Wars"—implying only a temporary and idiosyncratic suspension of the rule, which will be restored in full after Reagan has gone.

Another and very important rule is that the Strategic Balance Must Be Stable. This works as follows: It is argued that each of the two (symmetrical, remember) sides does at all times rationally entertain the military objective of knocking out the other side's missiles. If accomplished, that is the equivalent of taking the other side's Queen, compelling surrender. Therefore, the incentive to launch such a first strike must be eliminated. One way of doing so is for both sides to have mobile missiles. They cannot be reliably targeted and are therefore said to be "stabilizing." This, then, is the fifth rule of arms control: Mobile Missiles Contribute to Strategic Stability. (This is one of those key points where the board game diverges from the real world, which turns out to include Greenham women, batty bishops, pro-Soviet college professors, and the like.)

At this stage the game gets a little more complicated, but not much. There are ironclad assumptions about missile accuracy, which lead to further conclusions about stability. The Accuracy Assumption is this: Two warheads are needed to knock out one fixed missile (or silo). Therefore, Single-Warhead Missiles Are Stabilizing (the sixth rule). If both sides had *only* single-warhead missiles, both sides had the same number of missiles, and one side then launched all its missiles at the other's, half of those targeted missiles would survive, and the side that fired first would lose: its Queen would be undefended, exposed to a missile force still formidable at half strength.

Liberals Love It

By the same token, multiple-warhead, or "MIRVed," missiles are said to be destabilizing. (Among these are the Soviets' SS-18 and our MX, both with ten warheads perched on top of one missile.) The theory here is that such bunched warheads constitute an inviting target. Assume now that both sides have the same number of ten-warhead missiles. Remember, the warheads from a missile that is fired will spread out and "independently target" ten enemy missiles. Five will hit their targets, on average, and each one that does so will knock out all ten warheads on that missile. Therefore, the side that launches a first strike in such a "MIRVed world," as the arms-control players say, can achieve victory, knocking out all the other's missiles by firing only 20 per cent of its missiles. Multiple-Warhead Missiles Are Destabilizing is, therefore, the seventh rule.

Given the foregoing rules then, single-warhead mobile missiles are doubly desirable, in the abstract board-game world of arms control.

Enter the Midgetman, a U.S. missile that is still on the drawing boards. On paper, and on the board game, it looks good—high-tech and up-to-date. The *Washington Post* loves it:

"The mobile single-warhead land-based Midgetman is meant to replace the obsolete, vulnerable, silo-based Minuteman and perhaps to complement the new multi-warhead MX," the paper editorialized on December 8, when Mr. Gorbachev and entourage were in town. "Small and hard to target, Midgetman could be expected to survive a first strike. Confident that it was available for use later, the American command would not have to fire it off 'on warning'—before it knew what was going on. Hence it fits well a strategy based on deterring nuclear war, and it is a good weapon to firm up strategic stability as arms control takes the raw numbers down.

"The Reagan Administration, however, has equivocated on Midgetman. Under congressional pressure it has been developing this missile . . ."

What's this? A new missile that Congress wants, the Democrats (it turns out) want, the *Washington Post* wants; but not the Reagan Administration, not the Joint Chiefs, not the Pentagon? Unusual correlation of forces! And what does the *Washington Post* have to say about our domestic version of the Greenham women? Nothing at all. But imagine the uproar if the Pentagon tried to drive these Midgetmen through small-town America—the demands for environmental-impact statements and so forth. Missiles cruising down Main Street would activate peace groups more than they would scare the Russians.

"The basic premise," Gaffney told me, "is that you can put Midgetmen on military reservations in isolated spaces of the Far West and thereby avoid the problems of Greenham ladies and the like." But this would no doubt be insufficient protection. "If people wish to make things difficult for you," he went on, "they may be willing to go to the inconvenience of hanging out in the desert." Believe me, these people are willing to go to considerable inconvenience—jail, for example—to serve what they call the cause of peace. Military reservations can be patrolled, but they can't be completely isolated.

Firing on 'Star Wars'

In the end the Midgetman would almost certainly be confined to fixed installations, and the taxpayers would end up paying enormous sums to achieve a mobility that peace activists would probably thwart. In December the Air Force asked Frank Carlucci to end the $45-billion program, but, the *Los Angeles Times* reported, "Powerful Democrats are mounting an effort to restore the money for the Midgetman in next year's budget, at the expense of . . . the controversial 'Star Wars' missile-defense system." Midgetman is also supported by Harold Brown, Jimmy Carter's Secretary of Defense, by former National Security Advisors Brent Scowcroft and Robert McFarlane, by *New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker, by Congressman Les Aspin, and by various Democratic defense strategists.

It's difficult to avoid the suspicion

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that Midgetman is supported by those who relish the prospect that it will gobble up a big slice of the defense budget, leaving only crumbs for SDI. The Administration has in turn argued that mobile missiles should be bargained away at the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) at Geneva. Our negotiators have used the interesting argument that mobile missiles present "both sides" with verification problems. (The alert reader may have noticed that surrounding mobile missiles there is a still unresolved conflict in the rules of the arms-control game. On the one hand "mobiles" are *good*, because stabilizing; on the other hand they are *bad*, because in order to play the arms-control game properly it is necessary to verify that both sides really do have the number of missiles they say they have. And the very feature that makes mobile missiles "stable" also tends to make them invisible, i.e., "unverifiable.")

Hard to See

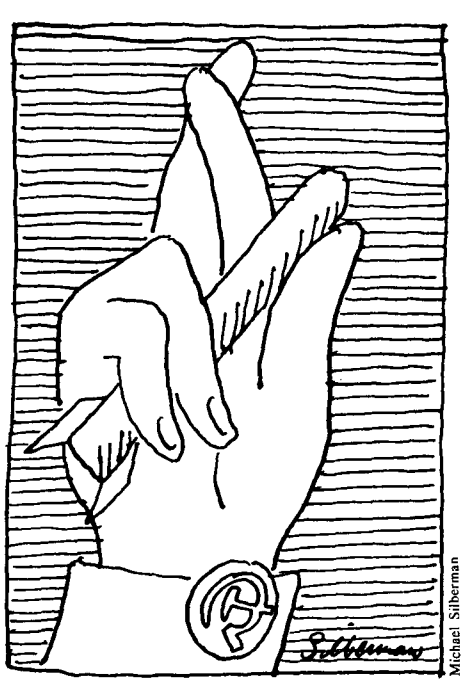
THE SOVIETS have already deployed two sorts of mobile missiles—the ten-warhead SS-24, which is mounted on a railroad flatcar and can be shunted around the complex maze of the Soviet railroad system, and of course hidden in tunnels; and the aforementioned SS-25, of which about 120 have already been deployed. Manfred Eimer, Assistant Director of Verification and Intelligence at the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, told me that the SS-24 mounted on a railroad flatcar is particularly difficult to detect because from satellite photography it is nearly indistinguishable from an ordinary train car.

Frank Gaffney concluded that the "uncertainties about our ability to verify Soviet mobile weapons," and the "problematic quality" of a deployed Midgetman, "argue powerfully for prohibiting the damn things." This has been the Administration's position in START. The Soviets, of course, will be most unlikely to agree to ban a weapon that suits them so nicely, and which they (but not we) have already deployed. This means that there will soon be great pressure on the Administration to bring its negotiating position into line with the Soviets'. This will be phrased: Be good arms-controllers and accept mobiles.

The Administration has been hoping to complete a START agreement in time for President Reagan's visit to Moscow this summer. Ken Adelman believes that the treaty won't be completed in time. "There is so much that is undecided that we're not going to be able to do it in a few months' time," he said. What worries Adelman is that we will instead sign a "framework agreement" in Moscow. (President Ford signed such a document in Vladivostok.) A framework agreement leaves out the details, merely asserting both sides' willingness to accept "in principle" a reduction of (say) 50 per cent in missile forces. From the Soviets' point of view, Adelman explained, such an agreement would be better than a treaty: "We would have to abide by it, because of Congress, but the Soviets wouldn't."

The U.S. has submitted a strategic-arms-reduction proposal at Geneva. Its details are still secret, but it would reduce our strategic forces by about 40 per cent. It is possible that up to half of U.S. nuclear submarines could be dismantled by this radical proposal. Quite a number of people, Democrats included, are counting on there being insufficient time left to complete the agreement during Reagan's term.

But there is one way in which such a treaty could indeed be agreed to and signed. The Soviet side could simply accept the U.S. proposal *in toto*, no matter what verification provisions it contains, but without the slightest intention of abiding by it. Senator Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming pointed to this possibility when he wrote recently, à propos of the INF treaty: "Ironically, the Soviets' acceptance of more intrusive verification measures may be a direct result of the Reagan Administration's failure to hold them to their existing commitments. If violations go unpunished, there is little reason to fret over accepting stricter verification."


Michael Silberman

Wallop said that he had asked Administration officials how they intended to confront existing violations. "Their response continues to be that the U.S. will never sign an agreement that is not thoroughly verifiable," Wallop said, pointing out that this is like saying AIDS testing is the solution to the AIDS epidemic. We have *already verified* that the Soviets have *already violated* every arms-control treaty they have ever signed, and yet we persist in offering them new ones to sign. On past performance, they could, therefore, sign the new treaty without so much as changing a comma in it. Congress would then enact it (on us), the Democrats would enforce it (on us), the media would play watchdog (on us). And the Soviets could completely ignore those parts of the treaty they didn't like. (If we then cried "Violation!" the Soviets would deny it and the *New York Times* would, if the past is any guide, report an "alleged violation," and so on.)

In the Winter 1988 *Policy Review* Ken Adelman wrote that his "greatest disappointment" while in office was: "We didn't do anything, really, about Soviet cheating. . . . We never really found anything much *to do* about Soviet cheating. That's the sad truth. Those outside government may well wonder why, year after year, we reported a pattern of Soviet violations and did nothing about it. We hit the Soviets with prospects of new agreements, and that's about all. That's not how normal folks act when cheated by a merchant, for instance; then we sue, get the Better Business Bureau stirred up . . . We tried—oh how we tried—to come up with effective countermeasures, but there didn't seem to be any."

It's high time that the U.S. withdrew from the arms-control ritual and returned to the real world—beginning with early deployment of those parts of Strategic Defense that are currently feasible. The board game has gone on for long enough. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AIDS AND RIGHT-WING HYSTERIA

DEAR BILL,

It has been over a year since *NR* carried my first letter on right-wing homophobia and AIDS hysteria. That letter was generally distorted by those conservatives who did not just ignore it; but, as homosexuality and AIDS are both very emotional subjects, I expected no less. Therefore I was both heartened and disheartened by an article in the November *Commentary*, "AIDS: Are Heterosexuals at Risk?" by an occasional *NR* contributor, Michael Fumento. Heartened, because Mr. Fumento's well-researched, rational investigation into the AIDS crisis is not what I've come to expect from conservative journals; disheartened, because of the way conservative commentators (including *NR* in the November 20 editorial section) have distorted Fumento's article to find support for their own political agenda.

Naturally, conservatives really liked his principal medical point, that anal intercourse is by far the highest-risk activity for the transmission of AIDS in the United States; AIDS education that does not emphasize this fact is a waste of time. His principal political point is that it is wrong for gay ideologues to argue that heterosexuals are equally at risk for AIDS. To both points I say, *Nihil obstat.*

But if one argues that massive AIDS education for heterosexuals would be a misdirection of efforts, then it inescapably follows that there is no justification for more drastic measures, such as quarantines, mass blood testing, etc. This is indeed bad news for the LaRouchites and their fellow-travelers among homophobic conservative ideologues. They cannot have it both ways.

Perhaps for this reason *NR* has chosen to ignore other, less ideologically convenient parts of Fumento's article. First, AIDS, like most other sexually transmitted diseases, is more readily passed by males than by females. So, heterosexual women have more to fear from it than heterosexual males do.

Second, the high rate of AIDS infection in African heterosexuals is attributable in part to high rates of incidence of other sexually transmissible diseases, diseases that are also on the increase among heterosexuals in the United States. AIDS is not the only sexual disease that threatens Americans. It just happens to be the only one that promiscuous heterosexuals have generally escaped.

A third point, which Fumento made and which has been totally ignored for obvious reasons, is that oral sex is almost certainly the safest sex of all, less risky than vaginal intercourse. And even Fumento did not report that there have been no cases of AIDS among lesbians in the U.S. who were not also intravenous-drug abusers.

Fumento, to his great credit, refutes what seems to be the emerging conservative "party line": that AIDS is a peculiarly homosexual disease, but still somehow a threat to the general population. If it can only be spread by anal intercourse, how do heterosexual males catch it? Even if AIDS *could* only be spread by anal intercourse (which, contrary to the assertions of some homophobes, is far from universal among gays and far from unknown among straights), that would not prove that homosexuality *per se* is morally inferior to heterosexuality—without regard to how either is practiced.

When a cure is found for AIDS, will this make homosexuality morally acceptable to traditionalists? No, of course not. Does the fact that lesbians have the lowest rate of sexually transmitted diseases prove that lesbianism is morally superior to heterosexuality? No. If oral sex is in fact less risky than vaginal sex, what moral point does that prove? None.

No activity can cause AIDS, if the pathogen is not present. And just because a disease can be contracted through a particular activity, that doesn't make that activity immoral. Is breathing immoral? Shaking hands?

Fumento rightly decried media sensationalism on the risk of AIDS to heterosexuals. You should thank him, Bill, for not including *NR* in the list of examples that he gave. Forgive me if I am not so restrained.

Wayne Lutton, in a scurrilous attack on the Surgeon General's Report on AIDS (*NR*, Jan. 30, 1987), claimed that AIDS was a great threat not only to promiscuous heterosexuals, but also to the general population through casual contact. Now we are told not to worry. Real men don't get AIDS. (Except through casual contact?)

In its editorials, *NR* has objected to condom advertising (even though the magazine itself carries ads for alcohol and tobacco, the abuse of which kills more Americans every few weeks than AIDS has killed since its onset). To argue, as *NR* has, that ads and education urging the use of condoms are pointless because gays in San Francisco and New York have known about them all along is truly *absurd.* What they did not know about was the risk of AIDS or the fact that the risk of catching it could be reduced by the use of condoms. "Everyone knows" about seatbelts, speed limits, and many other things about which repetitive propaganda is recognized as a public good. In fact, sex education works. The AIDS infection rate has fallen very sharply among gays.

EVEN THOUGH, as Fumento suggests, American heterosexuals may have little to fear from AIDS at present, there will still be other benefits to society and to individuals from AIDS education for society in general. There will be fewer cases of other sexually transmitted diseases, fewer unwanted pregnancies, and hence fewer abortions. There has already been a decrease in

(Continues on page 61)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTER FROM WARSAW / PATRICIA B. BOZELL

THE SECRET OF SOLIDARITY

TRAVEL-TIRED eyes were soothed by the soft sunlight as we entered the Jesuit House at 61 Rakowiecka Street in Warsaw. We were shown the remains of St. Andrew Bobola, cruelly martyred by the Cossacks in 1657, his relics carried to safety by Polish soldiers during the Warsaw Rising in 1944. The chapel is built over the remains of more recent martyrs: during the 1944 uprising, Nazi soldiers cornered sixty civilians, many of them Jesuit priests, in the basement and lobbed hand grenades into the closed space. Forty-four perished; some of the wounded managed to escape before the Nazis set fire to the butchery. We had arrived in Poland.

Outside the Jesuit building is one of the many markers that dot the cityscape, commemorating another Nazi atrocity. Nothing marks the Communist regime's prison at the end of the block, seven of its stories buried beneath the ground.

We had come to Poland to search out the secret of Solidarity, a beacon of continuing hope in this country fed upon by the ravening ideologies of East and West. In the six years of World War II, the Polish Republic lost over six million people, nearly one-half of them Jews. Only 11 per cent (644,000) died as a direct result of military operations; nearly 90 per cent (5.3 million) by executions, fast (firing squad) and slow (starvation, exposure).

Both the totalitarian powers dealt harshly with the leaders of Polish society. From May to August 1940, the Nazis, perhaps practicing for the Holocaust, consigned some ten thousand Polish intellectuals to concentration camps, and executed 3,500 political and municipal leaders in Palmiry Forest outside Warsaw. The Soviets, more polished at this sort of thing, slaughtered 15,000 Polish army officers in Katyn Forest, and laid the blame on the Nazis. Yet Poland, despite these travails, and despite the earlier 123 years of partition (1795 to 1918), survives. Somehow, we were beginning to divine, the suffering and the hope were connected to Solidarity, the movement that swept through the nation for five hundred glorious days before being humbled in December 1981.

In Warsaw's Old Town, rebuilt with painstaking care after the war, the resplendent cathedral, castle, and monuments are not quite faithful to the city's past. The new Old Town has lost the elegance of age. Its streets are too cobbled, and its people too quiet. The new town—the regime's town—adjoins it, in all its hideous modernity. Yet that the city survives at all is something of a miracle.

In August 1944, the Poles made a tragic mistake. The Warsaw Rising against the Nazis, sparked by the Poles' expectations that Soviet troops would come to their aid, brought instead 63 days of hell. Block by block, the Polish capital was reduced to ashes; section by section, the city's inhabitants were lined up and shot. Stalin's calculated betrayal paid off. Those who weren't slaughtered were evacuated. When war broke out in 1939, Warsaw had 1.2 million inhabitants. When the Soviets marched in, six years later, there was not one human being left in the rubble. The old order in Poland had been wiped out. Poland had been hung on the Cross.

©1988 Mal Ent. Inc.

POLAND IS a land of prophets, poets, and priests—a land of paradoxes. The Poles are intuitive, individualistic, with a medieval cast of mind. In 1846, two years before the *Communist Manifesto*, the poet Zygmunt Krasinski prophesied: "Maybe a Communist society is the highest goal toward which the history of the world inclines, but for it not to become the most terrible irony, the most lunatic despotism, it must come about at a time when the light of Christ turns everyone into a saint." But the light of Christ has so far proved selective.

Poland has been Christian for a thousand years. In 966, Mieszko I espoused Christianity and placed his realm in the hands of the Pope. In the ensuing millennium, Poland staved off the forces of Islam, Luther, and Russian Orthodoxy. During the partition, Poland's darkest period, the nation rose three times. Polish poets, in celebrating its heroes, depicted Poland as a Christ-like martyr among nations, awaiting the Resurrection. The priests lightened the years of eclipse by wedding Polish nationalism to Polish Catholicism. They sang with the poets and suffered with the people.

Poland today celebrates its shrines in joyful defiance of the security police who skulk in the bushes. During our visit, we took the road to Czestochowa, which houses Our Lady in the monastery of Jasna Gora. Each year, on August 5, pilgrims (51,000 in 1981, the year of Solidarity's glory) leave Warsaw for the ten-day hike of 150 miles, timed to finish at Czestochowa on the eve of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Warsaw contingent is joined by more than 300,000 fellow pilgrims from around the country.

Later that day we were assailed by

Mrs. Bozell is a freelance writer and editor living in Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Auschwitz. Bins of baby booties, women's braids, men's crutches—and the death cell of St. Maximilian Kolbe, on whom Christ's light shone. Not far from Auschwitz, we breathed clean air again in Wadowoce, a smallish town spread around the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the shadow of which, fifty years ago, a boy grew to manhood: he was to become Pope John Paul II.

We traveled north to Gdansk, formerly Danzig. Two dates make the city memorable. On September 1, 1939, a German battleship moored in the port of Danzig opened fire on the Polish fort at Westerplatte, the first shot of World War II. Its echoes doomed a civilization. And on August 31, 1980, Solidarity was born in the shipyards of Gdansk, and its hope spoke to the world.

The Polish people had periodically protested their imposed government. In the summer of 1980, the regime was caught off balance. This time the political initiative had been taken not by the Church or by dissident intellectuals but by the workers, *proletarians*, who to the regime's dismay refused this time to be bought off with small favors and short-term promises.

In mid-August, the strike committee in the Lenin Shipyards rejected a favorable local settlement and held out for equally good terms for their fellow strikers elsewhere. To do otherwise, the committee's leaders said, would have been a betrayal. As Solidarity came to articulate it, the people must now "carry each other's burdens." So they erected makeshift altars, hung crosses, and, in the August 31 Gdansk agreement, won their most important demands, including the right to free trade unions. From around the nation, representatives of strike committees joined together as the National Coordinating Committee of a new Independent Self-Governing Trade Union (NSZZ). Giving their organization the name *Solidarnosc*, they elected as chairman the man most responsible for the Gdansk victory, Lech Walesa.

The fuse that led to the strike—shortages, corruption, political abuse, the dreary, grey sameness of the life of bondage—had been around for years. The spark that ignited the fuse was the June 1979 visit of John Paul II, the Polish Pope. We were told how the visit had turned society on its head—totalitarian atheists fell at the feet of the spiritual leader of the Universal Church; there was a Catholic Mass on state television, a cross lifted high in Warsaw's Victory Square. The prestige of the Church highlighted the total irrelevancy of the Party. Now, now finally, we understood. The Old Poland, patched together after World War I, had died in the bloody gutters of Warsaw in 1944. The New Poland, driven once more by faith, was born in a shipyard in Gdansk in 1980.

SOLIDARITY belongs to the people, to all the people, in a singular way. After all, there had been other revolts during the Soviet hegemony, other bids for dignity—the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, that doomed burst of courage; the Prague Spring of 1968, quickly turned wintry; and, nine years later, Czechoslovakia's Charter 77, a vain attempt to bring to life the Helsinki promises of human rights. Poland had also strained after justice—in 1956, 1968, 1970, 1976. And then came Solidarity, and the land sang its praises. Solidarity was Polish; it was the heart in union with the spirit. It was patriotism finding its anchor in the Church. It was the knowledge that only Truth could overcome the Big Lie. It was, as John Paul II would come to call it, "a glorious word."

In 1976, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, a Polish priest and prophet, confided an intuition to Adam Michnik, founding member of the Workers' Defense Committee (KOR), left-wing dissident, and future colleague of Lech Walesa. Poland, he said, needed an independent trade union; the leadership held hitherto by the intelligentsia or the Church must pass into the hands of the workers. Michnik would sum it up seven years later from the Mokotowski Jail: "After August 1980 it was precisely working people, strike leaders and activists, . . . who became the leaders of public opinion. Independent programmatic thought was no longer formulated at the clubs of the writers' union, the journalists' association, or even the universities, but in the large factories and in the meeting rooms of the Solidarity National Committee."

To a totalitarian state, any independent national organization is a threat. That is why on December 13, 1981, the martial-law declaration was issued.

The Polish battle is, in a larger sense, a battle between Catholicism and Communism, a universal religion against an expansionist ideology, both absolute, both hierarchical. In Poland, the 5 per cent of ideologues rule the 95 per cent of faithful. Nonetheless, Lech Walesa repeatedly assured the government that his aim was not revolution, but reform. In the 15 months of Solidarity, despite every provocation, not one life was lost. "If I did not believe in God," Walesa said, "I would become a very dangerous man."

Since the crackdown, Solidarity's underground leadership has come up with "the alternative society," a social structure, independent of the Communist state, that fosters Solidarity's objectives. The alternative society has its own press (more than 1,500 titles since January 1982), its own educational programs ("flying universities" hold classes in safehouses), its own cultural activities (plays are produced, mostly in churches, and Western television offsets the official Soviet fare). As Michnik says, the underground word cannot be counteracted "by arrests, nightsticks, or water cannons."

The sheer brilliance of this strategy has been lost on the West, which measures progress by direct action, preferably strikes and demonstrations. But embattled Communist officials, unable to goad Solidarity's underground into suicidal open resistance, and frustrated in their attempts to win over the intelligentsia, have had to search for other means to tame the Polish spirit.

The martial-law years have, admittedly, taken their toll. Poland is waiting, quiescent and tired—forty years tired—but unbent. Privately, Vice Premier Rakowski considers Hungary the proper model for the Jaruzelski government. Jaruzelski is to be another Janos Kadar, the man who brought Hungary to its knees through "goulash Communism"—a little freedom, to bring enough material prosperity to appease the people, combined with a doctrinaire Marxist culture and strict adherence to Soviet foreign policy. Rakowski's vision convinces no one.

Poland already has more economic freedom than any other satellite country, but at the cost of physical and psychological exhaustion. We witnessed the drunkenness—rivaling Hungary's—and we heard of the drugs and the delinquency among the young. In Warsaw, the regime's city, passionate na-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tures hide behind suspicious masks; employment is guaranteed and thus the service is sloppy, the people surly. Outside Warsaw, by contrast, a waitress at a small home-owned restaurant in Niepokalanow ("City of Mary Immaculate"—St. Maximilian Kolbe's town) looks warily through shy eyes, softens, smiles—our day is made.

In their frustration, young Poles have indiscriminately adopted Western ways, particularly American ways. And here danger lies. The traditional values of Western culture nurtured by the Poles are threatened by ethical anarchy. Will the sickness of the West do what years of totalitarian brutality could not—defeat the Polish spirit?

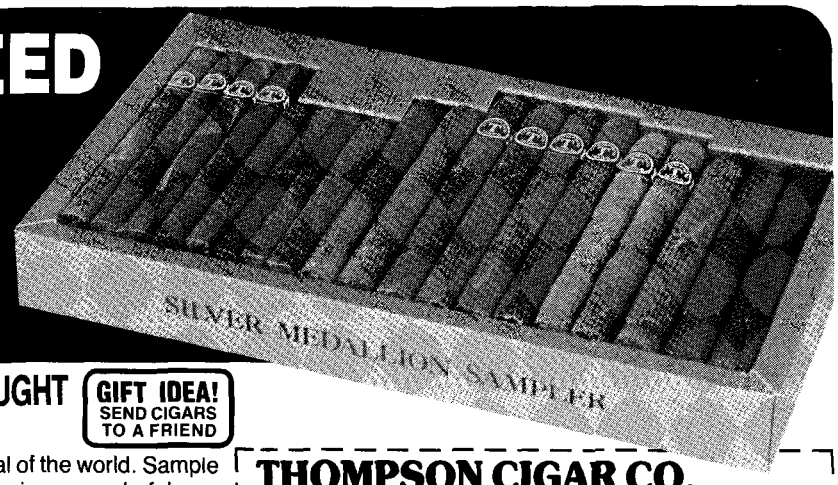
BUT CHRIST has not forgotten His people. Not long ago, His light illumined a young man—a priest and a prophet—who fused Polish nationalism with Polish Catholicism in a profound messianic call for Poland's resurrection. After martial law was declared, Father Jerzy Popieluszko, a chaplain in Warsaw's steel mills, continued to preach Solidarity from his pulpit at St. Stanislaw Kostka. Worshippers at his Fatherland Masses, held on the last Sunday of every month, overflowed into the streets; his words were copied and recopied and spread throughout the land. Like Lech Walesa, he preached nonviolence. On October 19, 1984, Father Popieluszko was abducted, tortured, and murdered by the state police.

Truth, proclaimed Father Popieluszko, binds the people, and, like love, it requires sacrifice: only by means of the Cross can Poland advance toward its resurrection. He spoke of Solidarity's beginnings, when, "kneeling before improvised altars, assisted by intellectuals and artists, and carried along by the patriotic spirit of the workers, Solidarity was born." He also spoke of that night in December when Solidarity was suppressed "in sorrowful and violent fashion." But, prophesied Father Popieluszko, it was "not a mortal wound, for it is impossible to kill hope." To his people he entrusted Solidarity, a "synonym for the nation."

We stopped on the way to the airport for a last visit to the Church of St. Stanislaw Kostka, in whose garden Father Popieluszko lies. A large, rough-hewn stone cross marks his grave, which is encircled by massive rocks joined by chain links. Our friends point out with delight that these rocks form the beads of the rosary laid out in the shape of the map of Poland. The martyr sleeps under the spot that marks the capital, Warsaw. Nearby, the statue of Cardinal Wyszynski watches. Off to the back, fluttering flags and banners are ablaze with the bright red letters of the crudely drawn legend, *Solidarnosc*. Masses of fresh flowers, brought by the continuous line of people who come to kneel and pray and ponder, adorn the shrine. And by the church there is a new bell, ready to toll in praise of the Paschal song, *Resurrexi, et adhuc tecum sum, alleluia* . . . I arose and am still with Thee, alleluia . . . □

YOU DON'T NEED CASTRO'S PERMISSION

TO SMOKE CUBAN-SEED HANDMADE CIGARS!



HANDMADES FOR THE MAN WHO THOUGHT HE COULDN'T AFFORD THEM!

GIFT IDEA! SEND CIGARS TO A FRIEND

I'll send them to you from Tampa, the fine cigar capital of the world. Sample the cigars in my new Silver Medallion Sampler and enjoy a wonderful new smoking sensation. I'll include a generous sampling of Honduras handmades plus a nice selection of vintage-leaf, long-filler and cut filler cigars, all perfectly blended for mildness and flavor.

These superb smokes are made with expertly blended Cuban-seed-leaf tobaccos grown and cured the old Cuban way in Honduras from seed smuggled out of Cuba. They're mild, flavorful and extremely satisfying to the cigar smoker who's looking for something new, something better, something exceptionally tasty. Experts can't tell them from Havana. You won't be able to either, when you try them. Natural wrapper. If you're ready for a luxuriously enjoyable smoking experience, try them now.

MY OFFER TO CIGAR LOVERS

I'll send you postpaid a selection of 42 factory-fresh cigars—a special selection of Honduras handmades, vintage-leaf long-filler and cut filler smokes. If these cigars aren't all you expected, return the unsmoked ones by United Parcel or Parcel Post within 30 days and I'll refund your money. No questions asked. Your delivered cost is only $10.90 for 42 factory-fresh, Cuban-seed-leaf cigars.

THOMPSON CIGAR CO.

5401 Hangar Ct., Dept.B-748, Box 30303, Tampa, FL 33630

O.K., TOM! Ship me the Silver Medallion Sampler under your money-back guarantee for only $10.90.

☐ Check for $10.90 enclosed (Fla. residents add 5% sales tax)
☐ Charge $10.90 to my ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard

PLEASE PRINT

Credit Card No. Exp. Date

name

street

city state zip

CREDIT CARD USERS SPEED DELIVERY BY CALLING TOLL-FREE 1-800-237-2559 IN FLORIDA CALL: 800-282-0646

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOOEY IN THE SEMINAR

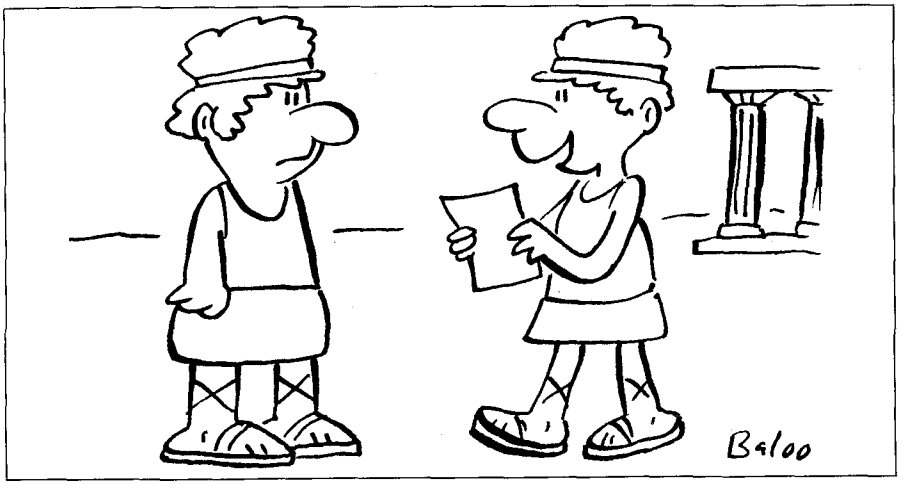
I APOLOGIZE in advance for the fact that this column is not going to be a stylistic delight. And yet reality is not always pleasant, and a surgeon would no doubt prefer to gaze at a Rembrandt or listen to Palestrina than to cut around, hunting for a cancer. But, brace yourself, duty calls. To get the full gas-cloud of what is going on today in many of our universities, just plunge ahead with the following description, in gory detail, of a graduate seminar to be offered by one M. Miyoshi at the University of California, San Diego branch. The seminar is called "Literature and Social History: 1945-1955 and . . ." And, well, here goes:

"The course will study the 'beginning' of the Cold War and its representations by political leaders, media, and academia. Further, it will explore its pervasive consequences in various literary, 'cultural,' and political events of the world since. Obviously, this is an all-inclusive topic which, if handled generally, would be simply unmanageable. But the aim of the course is not so much a historical survey as it is an exercise in establishing relationships among politics, ideologies, and artistic productions.

"There are numerous studies lately that try to examine the ideology/language/artifice nexus. But many of these works are often too readily absorbed into epistemology and hermeneutics that reside in an autonomous sphere. Derrida's exchange with two graduate students (Anne McClintock and Rob Nixon) in *Critical Inquiry* is an interesting example; numerous cases of nervousness around deconstruction are another. The course will first try to look at the early years of the U.S.-USSR tension and see how they have marked vital parts of human life.

"The class as a whole will read a few revisionist studies by Gar Alperovitz, William A. Williams; primary documents by Churchill and Kennan; several Xeroxed papers from various sources; and Chomsky's recent booklet that continues the observation of power and ideology into the current situations. Jonathan Arac's anthology presents case-studies of the politics-ideology nexus. After three or four weeks, we will move into the specific preselected topics.

"It is hoped that individual students will choose topics of their own. A few examples are: the Domination of (old) New Criticism in the '50s; T. S. Eliot and the Cold War; the emergence of feminism in the '60s (not late '40s as with *The Second Sex*); Decolonization and Neo-colonialism; East and West versus North and South; Abstract Arts and the Cold War (cf. Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art*); The Demise of High Arts; the Cold War as the Prime Mover; the Disappearance of the Signified; Replacement of the Verbal with the Visual (time and space); etc., etc. A student can choose any one of these—or other—topics and look into specific ways in which the Cold War functions as a decisive factor. I would appreciate hearing from those planning to take the course well in advance of the Winter so that we may integrate the topics into a coherent context."



"Pssst—I got a copy of Aristotle's ethics final."

AS DR. JOHNSON once remarked of a particularly ill-written passage, the reader who does not understand this may read it again.

However, I offer a translation. The U.S. Started the Cold War (Alperovitz, Williams, Chomsky—with evidence from Kennan, Churchill, etc.). This has had a terrible effect on art, literature, and just about everything. T. S. Eliot and Cleanth Brooks are bad guys, as is the New York school of abstract impressionism. The new New Criticism, deconstruction and all that, is part of our liberation. But the U.S.-instigated Cold War must end, and no one, please, mention Prague or the Berlin Wall.

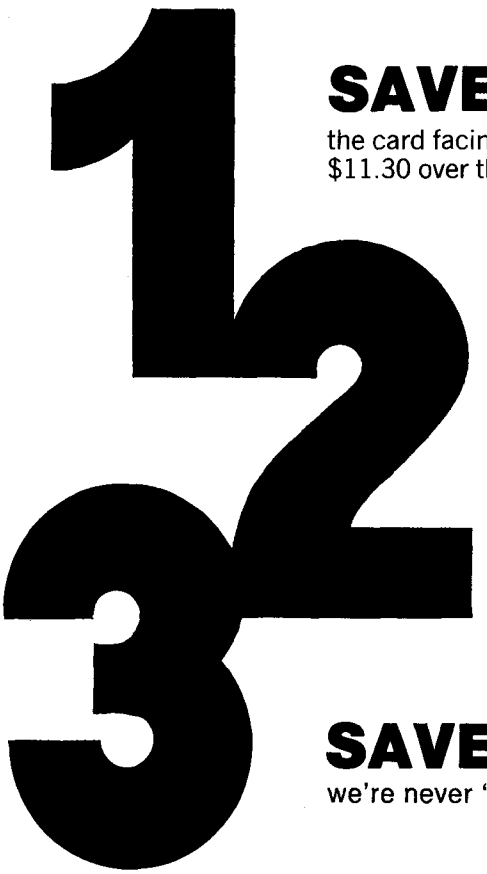
It does not matter that the political writing of Alperovitz, Chomsky, Williams, and the rest of the "authorities" here has been subjected to annihilating professional criticism. There is persisting life on the Left, even after annihilation.

Much of the contemporary university is like one of those castles in the Gothic novel, where mummies walk, chains rattle, and discredited ideas go bump in the seminar. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If you use the card facing this page today,

YOU WILL SAVE THESE 3 WAYS



SAVE MONEY:

the card facing this page *saves you* $11.30 over the newsstand price

SAVE TIME:

you get each issue of *National Review* mailed to you as soon as it comes off the press (with the news breaking so fast these days, that's an important plus)

SAVE TROUBLE:

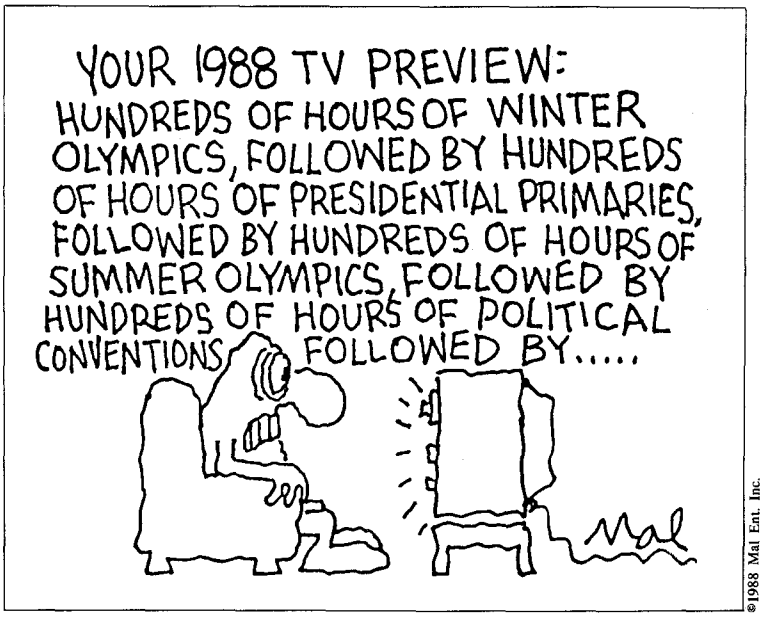
we're never "out" of *National Review*

Fill out and mail the card facing this page today: if you already subscribe, give the card to some friend who will enjoy National Review — the conservative magazine!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

help !!!!

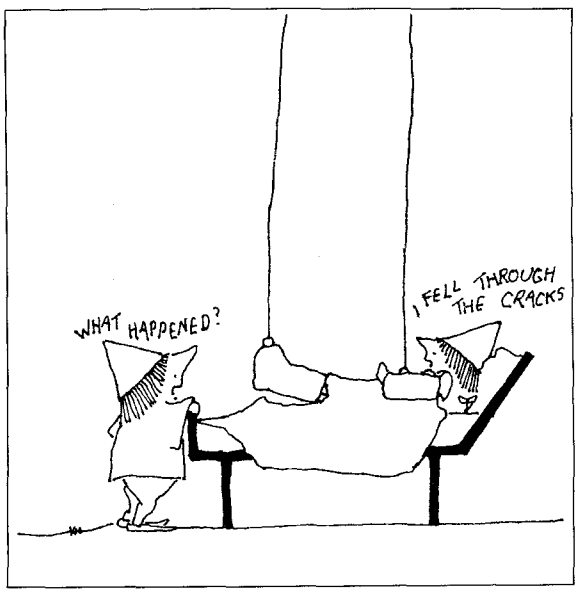
"Daddy . . . There's a lady at the door who says something about a 'love-in'? . . . And you and she were flower children . . . a long time ago . . ."

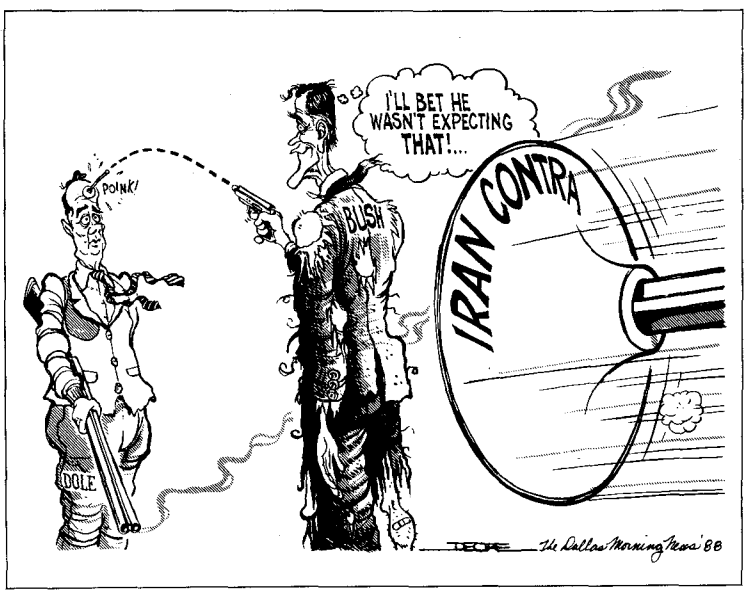

YOUR 1988 TV PREVIEW:
HUNDREDS OF HOURS OF WINTER OLYMPICS, FOLLOWED BY HUNDREDS OF HOURS OF PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES, FOLLOWED BY HUNDREDS OF HOURS OF SUMMER OLYMPICS, FOLLOWED BY HUNDREDS OF HOURS OF POLITICAL CONVENTIONS, FOLLOWED BY.....
Mal
©1988 Mal Ent. Inc.

Its Color Isn't Good

Like Lazarus, the dollar rose,
  But has the buck been born again
Or, like Camille, just struck a pose
  Before succumbing to the yen?

W. H. von Dreele





LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MACNELLY Chicago Tribune
YOU CAN START PULLING OUT NOW. AFGHANISTAN SEEMS TO HAVE BECOME A BLEEDING WOUND...
TELL ME ABOUT IT.

1st Amendment.
CONGRESS SHALL MAKE ~~NO~~ LAWS ~~RESPECTING AN ESTABLISHMENT OF RELIGION, OR~~ PROHIBITING ~~THE FREE EXERCISE THEREOF; OR ABRIDGING THE~~ FREEDOM ~~OF SPEECH, OR~~ OF THE PRESS.
SEN. KENNEDY
H. PAYNE ©1988 SCRIPPS HOWARD UNITED FEATURE SYND.
Boston Herald

"I ALWAYS THOUGHT IT NEEDED A LITTLE EDITING..."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RELIGION AND PSYCHOLOGY

BUYING HIGH and selling low is not a very smart strategy on the stock market. Yet, with respect to the ideas that are floated through the culture, it is the strategy that Christians tend to follow, according to Paul Vitz, the noted professor of psychology at New York University. "Somehow the Christian world is always buying into secular ideas at the top of their influence, and selling out Christian ideas just when they have no place to go but up," writes Vitz. Especially serious is the eagerness to buy overpriced ideas in which the culturally knowing are fast losing confidence. I was going to write that nowhere is this dismal practice more manifest than in the field of psychology. But then I was checked by the thought of recent church pronouncements on economics, Third World development, world peace, and political justice. So it is more accurate to say that, in psychology as elsewhere, the ideas of yesteryear enjoy a vaguely sanctified afterlife under the auspices of religion.

In seminary teaching and administration, in pastoral counseling, and in dicta on sexuality, tattered ideas of psychological health are embraced with the enthusiasm of fresh discovery. It is doubtful whether Paul, Augustine, Francis, Luther, Wesley, or Dietrich Bonhoeffer could get past the battery of psychological tests employed by most Protestant seminaries today. (Roman Catholic seminaries are taking just about anyone they can get.) As for pastoral counseling, it is no surprise that thousands of disillusioned clergy have put out their shingles as psychotherapists. The clergy's transition from pastoral counselors to psychotherapists goes without a hitch, since there was little that was distinctively Christian in their training for the former role. But now there is a growing band of psychologists and psychiatrists warning the churches that they have bought tainted goods, and urging them to reappropriate a peculiarly Biblical wisdom about mental and spiritual health.

This is a theme also pressed in recent years by Robert Coles of Harvard. In addition, Philip Rieff, Christopher Lasch, Karl Menninger, Paul Tournier, Ernest Becker, and W. K. Kilpatrick have all in various ways begged Christians to reconsider the exchange of their heritage for a mess of psychobabble. Vitz has been especially forceful in pressing the argument that the mainstream of contemporary psychology is not an ancillary aid to Biblical religion but a substitute religion. While the ranks of orthodox (whatever that means) Freudians are shrinking, most psychotherapies draw on some of Freud's key ideas on the achievement of a realized and autonomous self.

Vitz takes undisguised delight in contrasting Christian teaching with the teaching set forth in, for example, the foundational Freudian dogma of Oedipal Man. Oedipal Man is, in Biblical language, the Old Man, while Jesus is the New Man. They embody two conflicting stories of the human condition. In the one, the son hates the father; in the other, He loves the Father. In the first, the son is radically disobedient; in the second, radically obedient. Oedipal Man wants sexual possession of the mother (or all women in his group); New Man renounces sexual possession of women. In the first story, radical disobedience results in the death of the father, whether in fantasy or in some ancient past; in the second story, radical obedience results in the death of the Son. In the first story, the father's death is caused by the son or by a band of sons who hate the father; in the second, the death of the Son is caused by a band of brothers who hate the Son. In the Freudian version, the death of the father is followed by a failed resurrection in the form of a created father-totem and by emotions of guilt and remorse. The result is permanent separation and estrangement of father and son. In the Christian version, the death of the Son is followed by His resurrection, and by the joy of the complete reunion and identity of Father and Son. And so the intriguing point-counterpoint continues through the unfolding of the Oedipal myth.

OF COURSE many psychotherapies are not literalistic about the Freudian dogmas. The disciples of Carl Jung in particular include many Christians who are fascinated by his sympathetic use of Biblical stories and symbols, although his factual assumptions about human nature and destiny are not substantively different from those of other psychomasters apparently less friendly to Christianity. The remarkable thing is that many Christians do not recognize as a counter-story even an account of reality that quite explicitly opposes their own. The most reasonable explanation is that they have lost a firm hold on their own story. Thus we witness the pitiable spectacle of functional atheists, who are nonetheless hung up on Christianity, sniffing about for alien theories that might be adapted to justify their indulgence in religion.

Buying high when the bottom is about to fall out of the market is neither smart nor necessary. According to Vitz and others, there is a distinctively Biblical psychology of the human person that is ever so much more plausible and healing. It is premised upon the person in community rather than the autonomous individual. Its aim is self-surrendering love rather than the egoism of self-realization. It begins and ends with the Absolute from Whom we come and toward Whom we tend. In religion and psychology, as in so much else, renewal is to arrive where we started and know the place for the first time. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now you can unlock the secrets of *Successful Real Estate Investing.* Examine the first two lessons—absolutely FREE.

One of the greatest real estate deals in history took place back in 1803, when Thomas Jefferson acquired the Louisiana Purchase —*almost 1,000,000 square miles*—from the financially desperate Napoleon Bonaparte for a mere *$15 million.*

Since then, real estate has been the foundation of some of the greatest fortunes ever amassed in the United States.

Things haven't changed.

It's *still* possible to make a killing in real estate.

Thumb through today's financial section.

No doubt, you'll find an article claiming that there's still a ton of money to be made in real estate.

But what you won't find out is how you, the average investor, can make some of that money. And not knowing how has probably kept you from trying.

You're not alone. Tax reform, the maze of financing options and ever-changing interest rates have frightened many people away from real estate investing.

But that doesn't mean *you* have to abandon your dream of getting rich in real estate.

It just means that a few rules have changed since the old, easy-profit days. To be successful today, you need more knowledge, skill and professionalism than ever before.

But where can you get the knowledge? Not books and seminars. They either lack the depth or become outdated too quickly to be of practical use to anyone serious about making money in real estate.

What you need is a source of information that's flexible enough to keep ahead of this fast-moving field. One that's easy to understand. And that won't become obsolete tomorrow.

Introducing *Successful Real Estate Investing.*

Successful Real Estate Investing is a unique self-study program that shows you everything you'll need to know to *successfully* invest in any kind of real estate.

To make this course really work, Hume Financial Education Services turned to some of America's most successful real estate investors for advice. Financing wizards. Tax specialists. Rehab experts. Developers.

The result is a practical, hands-on program you can absorb in your own home. At your own pace. One easy step at a time.

Successful Real Estate Investing works.

And people across the country are proving it.

"There are so many 'experts' pushing real estate seminars with their 'systems', I didn't know where to turn. After using the Hume studies, I felt I could be successful. Those other guys are just authors pushing books. Hume is where it's at. I believe that."

J.M., Houston, Texas

"I found that Successful Real Estate Investing *was immediately useful, as I was in the process of buying my first rental home. The financial analysis sections, paperwork, and renting information got me off to a good start. I now have only one home but plan to buy many more. I'm sure I'll use this course for years to come."*

R.W., Taylor, Michigan

"Successful Real Estate Investing *showed me how to pick undervalued real estate. I was able to purchase a 4-unit apartment house for 10% down. Here it is six months later and my original deposit has appreciated an enormous 800%! Thanks."*

J.T., East Haven, Connecticut

We receive letters like this all the time, however, no express or implied representation is intended or should be drawn from the cited experiences of prior clients that those experiences are typical or representative.

You get the most up-to-date information possible anywhere.

If you can spare just 2 hours a week, you'll find answers to these important questions and more:

- How do you deal with constantly fluctuating interest rates?
- How do you choose the best mortgage given the recent maze of options?
- When should you consider investments in raw land?
- What makes condos popular places for the beginning investor?

Plus, you'll know how to put that information to use. That's because *Successful Real Estate Investing* is packed with useful learning aids. Checklists, Worksheets. Action plans. Self-quizzes. Charts and graphs. Real life applications and more.

You need information—not cash —to make money in real estate.

Successful Real Estate Investing shows you how to get started without a lot of money. How to arrange a down payment, for example, by using a building's future income. Or by selling off the land beneath a building. Or by dealing with a bank that has just foreclosed on a property.

All you need is a pretty good education, at least an average income and the sincere desire to succeed. *Successful Real Estate Investing* will give you everything else you'll need.

Take a look at *Successful Real Estate Investing* yourself. Absolutely FREE.

It won't cost you a dime to find out if *Successful Real Esate Investing* is for you.

All you have to do is return the coupon below. You'll receive Lessons 1 and 2, along with a *Comprehensive Guide to Real Estate Terms,* for a free trial evaluation.

You'll have 15 days to examine these lessons before deciding whether or not to keep them.

If you decide that *Successful Real Estate Investing* isn't for you, simply return Lessons 1 and 2 and owe nothing. It's that simple.

If, however, you decide that this program could be your ticket to financial freedom, pay just $10 each for Lessons 1 and 2 (plus a small shipping and handling charge). You will receive additional lessons at the rate of 2 lessons every 3 weeks or so. You'll always have a full 15 days to examine each lesson before deciding whether to keep it. And you may drop out of the program at any time.

Send for your first 2 lessons *today.* It could mean the beginning of a whole new life for you.

We are an independent educational service offering a uniquely practical program for achieving wealth in today's real estate market.

Hume Advisory Board

ARCHIE R. BOE—Past President of Sears, Roebuck & Co.

KINGMAN DOUGLASS—Investment Banker for 26 years including Kuhn Loeb and Merrill Lynch, Director of six industrial and financial corporations.

J. TREVOR EYTON—A Director and Officer of many prominent public corporations.

HON. JOHN C. STETSON—Manages many private investments, including real estate and financial institutions.

YES! I want to find out how *Successful Real Estate Investing* can show me the way to a personal fortune in real estate. Please enroll me on a trial basis according to the terms above. Rush me Lessons 1 and 2, along with the *Comprehensive Guide to Real Estate Terms* for a free examination.

(Mr. Mrs. Ms. Miss)

Name (Please Print) 260786

Address Apt. #

City State Zip 0909C

To receive your first 2 lessons and *Comprehensive Guide to Real Estate Terms* for a 15-day free examination, return this coupon today to:

HUME FINANCIAL EDUCATION SERVICES, 835 Franklin Court, Box 105627, Atlanta, GA 30348

HUME

HUME FINANCIAL EDUCATION SERVICES
835 Franklin Court
Box 105627
Atlanta GA 30348

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ABROAD

LUANDA *Part of the Way*

Angola's Marxist government has decided to go part of the way toward regaining the economic health the country had when its colonial Portuguese rulers left it 13 years ago. But it will not give up its 12-year-old war, spurred on by Cuban and Soviet auxiliaries, against the rebel movement UNITA, which has been fighting a successful guerrilla action against it. In a New Year's message, President José Eduardo dos Santos focused on the rescheduling of Angola's International Monetary Fund loan of $4 billion as a primary step in restoring some balance to the country's once-rich economy. He said that the delay in doing so was caused by "excessive ideological zeal," but added that his government was approaching Western countries such as France and Britain for talks on external obligations. Dos Santos also warned the West that Angola would not allow any outside interference or permit the growth of conditions that might lead to economic dependence. (Angola has been receiving substantial help from Eastern-bloc countries, especially the Soviet Union, for years.) Meanwhile, he promised to restructure the domestic economy by improving the supply of market goods, reducing black-market trafficking, and adjusting prices.

TRIPOLI *Out of Circulation?*

Muammar Qaddafi has been out of the headlines for some time, but he has not been idle. Colonel Qaddafi's major effort recently has been to rebuild bridges with his neighbors Tunisia and Algeria. Tunisia broke relations with Tripoli after Qaddafi expelled 32,000 Tunisian workers in 1985. But he has since paid $30 million to compensate them for lost wages and seized property, and Tunisians are once again seeking work in Libya. Air service has been re-established between the two capitals, and the Tunisian consulate here has been re-opened. The ground for the rapprochement with Algeria was prepared by Libya's estrangement from Morocco, Algeria's traditional rival and enemy. Last summer, Qaddafi proposed to the Algerians one of those "unions" that crop up in the Arab world from time to time. The Algerian government was cool at first, but then began to see in the initiative an opportunity to make difficulties for its western neighbor, still embroiled in its Sahara war with the Algerian-supported Polisario guerrillas. Another reason for Algeria's satisfaction with its new relationship with Qaddafi is the restraint it can seem to exercise over the Libyan leader in regard to further adventures in Central Africa. Qaddafi's invasion of Chad frightened many black African governments whose votes in international organizations Algiers cares about. If Algeria can take credit for Qaddafi's present forbearance, so much the better.

BUCHAREST *Hanging Tough*

Rumanian president Nicolae Ceausescu has become a legend in Eastern Europe as both a hard-line Communist bitter-ender and a nepotist for whom there is no such thing as an unemployable relative. His oppressive conduct at the recent congress of the Rumanian Communist Party was a breathtaking defiance of the reformist winds from the Soviet Union. Ceausescu has stirred up unrest in his country with industrial policies that have severely curtailed supplies of electricity this winter, raised food prices, and generally tightened public supervision. For this he paid with the uprising in November in the mining city of Brasov. The uprising was violently suppressed, but it has led to other manifestations of unrest. His refusal at the Party congress to do anything about the workers' plight other than initiate a token pay raise for miners may well lead to more. Ceausescu's performance also failed to impress an important recent visitor from West Germany, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Brasov was settled, centuries ago, by Germans, who have preserved their ethnic identity and today number 200,000. The Federal Republic has been ransoming them from the Communists at $4,000 a head, the price of an emigration visa. It wants other restrictions on the Brasov Germans done away with and even has a plan to fly in emergency food supplies to them.

LONDON *Celebrating the Ripper*

This is the centenary of the grisly murders in the East End of London committed by Jack the Ripper, the most fiendish of legendary English fiends. Continuing interest in the career of the criminal who randomly did away with four to seven women in three months has led to commemorations of the case, which in turn have led to protests. One protest has been staged against a pub named The Jack the Ripper, located in the East End. Protestors claim that a pub named after the Ripper can only stimulate crime. The pub's operators serve a bright red drink called the Ripper Tipple, and plan to sell T-shirts and postcards recalling his exploits. Their answer to complaints about Ripper exploitation is that the name Jack the Ripper does not salute his career of crime but merely recalls a recognized part of London's history.

Scully, *Punch* / Rotheo

"We're invited to some sort of jamboree—you're expected to donate a kidney."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

APPEASEMENT IS AS UNWISE IN 1988 AS IN 1938

Neville Chamberlain — *Adolph Hitler*

Ronald Reagan — *Mikhail Gorbachev*

HELP US DEFEAT THE REAGAN-GORBACHEV INF TREATY

- *INF is not verifiable — we lack certain knowledge of the USSR's pre-treaty totals.*
- *Even if INF were verifiable, there is no plan for dealing with verified Soviet violations, past and prospective.*
- *If the treaty is implemented, there will be no theater-based U.S. missiles capable of penetrating Soviet defenses, although Moscow will retain at least 92% of its missiles aimed at the West.*
- *The Pershings, which can travel 1,100 miles in less than 13 minutes, can hold Soviet forces and equipment at risk, thus deterring, and, if necessary, defeating vastly superior Soviet conventional forces.*
- *Those U.S. missiles remaining after INF have a reported maximum range of 66 miles — they would fall on NATO territory, rather than requiring the Warsaw Pact to bear the brunt of its own aggression.*
- *It is not credible to suppose that President Reagan or his likely successor would be prepared to initiate a nuclear war by responding to a Warsaw Pact conventional attack on Western Europe by launching intercontinental or trident-based ballistic missiles.*
- *It is highly unlikely that either NATO generally or America alone is prepared to spend the hundreds of billions of dollars necessary to offset massive Soviet conventional and chemical warfare superiority. Consequently, Moscow has an increased ability to intimidate and dominate Western Europe.*

INF IS A BAD DEAL FOR AMERICA URGE YOUR SENATORS TO REJECT RATIFICATION

THE CONSERVATIVE CAUCUS, INC. · 1974-1988 ·

The Conservative Caucus, Inc.
National Headquarters
450 Maple Avenue, East
Vienna, Virginia 22180

Howard Phillips
Chairman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MANAGING THE BEAST

Thomas Fleming

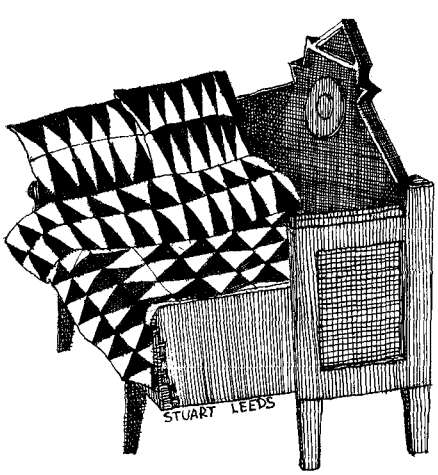
THE BLUE-COLLAR voter has been the object of conservative attention for over ten years. Kevin Phillips, following the lead of William Rusher, has repeatedly called for an alliance between the traditional Republican Right and the hard-hats and populists who supported prayer in school and war in Vietnam. The two groups did finally unite behind Ronald Reagan. However, the conservative/populist cleavage in the Reagan coalition will become critical if Jack Kemp fails to galvanize working-class support.

Under the circumstances, it was almost inevitable that some organization would try to create a new conservative ideology along the lines laid out by Phillips, and it was equally inevitable that Paul Weyrich, the New Right's godfather, would be involved. One of the founders of the Heritage Foundation, Weyrich went on to establish the Free Congress Foundation, with its labyrinth of subsidiaries and offshoots, as the institutional heart of the New Right. Free Congress's latest creation is the Institute for Cultural Conservatism, presided over by former Gary Hart aide William Lind with the assistance of William Marshner, who was until recently identified with the counter-revolutionary Catholic Right. The first fruits of their labors is *Cultural Conservatism*, a document that has already attracted a good deal of controversy.

If their intention was to provoke a serious discussion on the Right, the authors can rest content. *Cultural Conservatism* aims at nothing less than a radical restructuring of the conservative coalition that was put together in the early years of NATIONAL REVIEW. In every area it touches on, the document begins by paying homage to older conservatisms, but along the way it manages to propose startling departures from orthodoxy.

In economics, for example, it speaks respectfully of the conservative-libertarian principles of Hayek and, more recently, Stuart Butler, but the real emphasis is on what the government can do to promote such desirable projects as employee ownership, preservation of communities in the face of plant closings, and "sabbatical plans in all lines of work." The authors explain that in a cultural "free market," traditional norms lose out to what they call "liberationisms": our morals, no less than our economy, require government support.

While there are distinguished precedents for conservative statism, these are decisively rejected here as "restorationisms, romantic, clerical, or fascist, and . . . almost always disfigured by anti-Semitic bigotry." It is hard to believe that William Marshner would endorse such a statement, but it is an interesting argument. We can no longer look for inspiration to Chateaubriand or Belloc or T. S. Eliot or even Richard Weaver, because of their passionate attachment to the Christian Middle Ages, but we are to embrace the economic centralization promoted by such notorious anti-Semites as Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.



The chapter on education, it is true, calls for a return to the classics, but we are never told which classics—Aristotle or Rousseau, *Pilgrim's Progress* or *Les liaisons dangereuses*. Lind and Marshner quite rightly excoriate contemporary popular culture for undermining morality, but their focus on low culture since the 1960s keeps them from discussing the changes in the arts and philosophy that prepared the way for Phil Donahue and MTV.

Much of what was most valuable in the Old Right was precisely its insistence upon the priority of philosophy, literature, and theology, but that is now all to be set aside, theology in

Cultural Conservatism: Toward a New National Agenda (The Institute for Cultural Conservatism/Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, Washington, D.C., 146 pp., $7.95)

Brian Crozier is the author, most recently, of Socialism: The Grand Delusion, *published by Universe Books.*

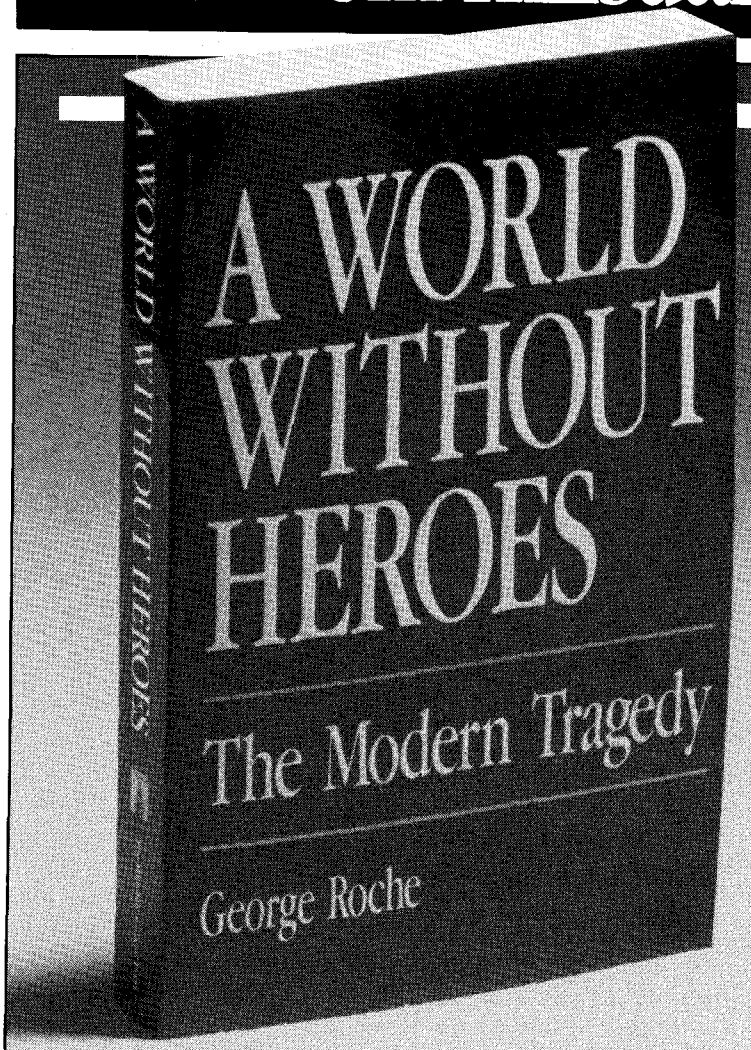
Thomas Fleming is the editor of Chronicles: A Magazine of American Culture *and the author, with Paul Gottfried, of* The Conservative Movement. *(See "The Right Books.")*

John P. Roche is John M. Olin Distinguished Professor of American Civilization and Foreign Affairs at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

J. O. Tate is a professor of English at Dowling College in Oakdale, New York, and a member of the editorial board of The Flannery O'Connor Bulletin.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New From Hillsdale College Press

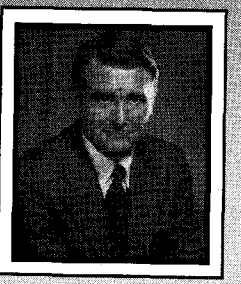


A World Without Heroes

The Modern Tragedy

By George Roche

Foreword By Russell Kirk



In an exhaustive, scholarly treatment of modern intellectual trends, author and educator George Roche reveals how science has been hijacked by the secularists and how their ethos of moral relativism robs us of anything worth striving for, worth fighting for, worth dying for.

A World Without Heroes **takes careful aim at the ideas that have shrivelled the will of the West and the faith of millions, harshly rebukes secular humanism as the most dehumanizing force of our modern age, and offers a ringing defense of Christianity that is at once humorous, insightful and uncompromising.**

"A book the likes of which we have not seen in nearly a century: a genuine moral/cultural essay. And what George Roche has to say is not only profoundly true, it is thoroughly energizing and inspiriting."

Midge Decter, Executive Director
The Committee For a Free World

"George Roche's ***A World Without Heroes*** extends his reputation as a writer and our debt to him as a teacher and galvanizer. A most heartily welcome addition to his work."

William F. Buckley, Jr., Editor
National Review

"***A World Without Heroes*** is a trumpet call for constructive engagement in the social crisis by those who refuse to discard the wisdom of the ages in a time of civilizational turmoil. Well written, cognitively sturdy; it champions truth and the good in a transitory time when relativism tightens its stranglehold on the inherited values of the past."

Carl F. H. Henry, Founding Editor
Christianity Today

Visa and MasterCard Orders Only/Call 800-253-3200, Ext. 801

ALSO BY GEORGE ROCHE

Going Home
George Roche's first novel—about growing up in the rough and tumble last days of the American frontier and an old man's discovery of serenity and "the face of God" in the Colorado Rockies.

America By The Throat
A blistering attack on red tape from George Roche—who resigned as chairman of the Presidentially appointed National Commission on Educational Research in protest over bureaucratic inertia.

YES! PLEASE SEND THE BOOKS INDICATED:

____	A WORLD WITHOUT HEROES (Hardbound) @ $17.95	$____
____	A WORLD WITHOUT HEROES (Softbound) @ $12.95	$____
____	GOING HOME (Hardbound) @ $12.95	$____
____	AMERICA BY THE THROAT (Hardbound) @ $14.95	$____
____	AMERICA BY THE THROAT (Softbound) @ $5.00	$____

My full payment is enclosed for ____
(Free shipping! Michigan residents add 4% sales tax.)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____ **ZIP** _____

1844

HILLSDALE COLLEGE PRESS
HILLSDALE, MICHIGAN 49242

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RANDOM NOTES

☐ More February Titles: In *Buying into America: How Foreign Money Is Changing the Face of Our Nation* (Times, $19.95), Martin and Susan Tolchin investigate the estimated $1.5 trillion currently invested by foreign governments and businesses (mostly European and Asian) in American banks, high-tech manufacturing companies, retailers, and urban and rural real estate. While the Tolchins acknowledge the short-term economic benefits of the trend, they argue nonetheless that it is altering American society in as yet unexplored ways, and that it puts the U.S., as a debtor nation, at risk of its political and economic independence. . . . In *Uncovering Soviet Disasters: Exploring the Limits of Glasnost* (Random House, $19.95), James E. Oberg discusses the lengthy succession of munitions-plant explosions, nuclear meltdowns, subway fires, plane crashes, incidents of anthrax contamination, etc., in the USSR; shows how much crucial information pertaining to technological safety precautions has been refused to the West; and holds out guarded hopes for the effect of *glasnost* on technological exchange.

☐ Left Over from January: *Hanging Out a Shingle: An Insider's Guide to Starting Your Own Law Firm* (Dodd, Mead, $16.95), by Harry F. Weyher, is an entertaining guide, written in an anecdotal and amusing fashion, for law and pre-law students, as well as for established attorneys who are considering striking out on their own. Weyher covers such subjects as choosing a (legal) partner, building a client list, finding the appropriate location, and deciding whether to specialize in practice.

The Place No One Knew: Glen Canyon on the Colorado (Gibbs Smith, $45), by Eliot Porter, is the 25th-anniversary edition of Porter's great photographic study of the spectacular Glen Canyon, discovered in 1869 by the explorer John Wesley Powell and flooded, in the early Sixties, by the construction of the Glen Canyon Dam, which today restrains Lake Powell.

The Forgotten War: America in Korea, 1950-1953 (Times, $29.95) by Clay Blair, is an outspoken, highly critical, and extremely interesting study of American defense policy in Korea, both as elaborated at the highest military levels and as executed in the field. (Blair is scathing on the subject of General Douglas MacArthur, but full of the highest praise for General Matthew Ridgway.) —CW

particular. While the document acknowledges the importance of religion, it still contains a declaration that religious faith is really only a matter of preference: "Some will want to validate these roots in absolute terms as deriving from God. Others will be content to see them as purely secular, a matter of what mankind has learned about itself over many generations. . . . traditional values are functional values." It is hard to imagine anyone risking his life for "functional values."

And if values are merely functional in a civilizational sense, like forks and spoons, then it makes no sense to speak of mankind. If our moral principles do not arise from nature itself (and nature's God, as our Declaration put it), then "mankind" is the plastic thing the liberals have always said it was, and human nature—if there is such a thing—is something to reshape and transcend, presumably by government intervention. Perhaps such a conviction is behind the document's "cultural-conservative bill of rights," which posits, for example, "the right to achieve government support of the family . . ."

It is unfashionable these days to speak of human nature: the feminists don't like it, and for all their railing against the tyranny of fashion, the cultural conservatives are careful not to annoy the feminists. Not once, in their generally sensible discussion of the family, do they point to the part played by feminist ideology in subverting family integrity and promoting abortion, and not once in their discussion of military reform do they allude to the most pressing crisis in our armed forces: women at the service academies and in combat situations.

Cultural Conservatism has all the earmarks of a committee report. The introduction rejects high culture, a later chapter slips in the classics; the text seems to reject the claims of religion, while the notes come close to endorsing them. Those notes, by the way, tell an interesting tale. They contain plenty of references to leftists like Amitai Etzioni and Marvin Harris, but they leave out many of the best and most influential conservative authorities on subjects like the politics of religion, family issues, and community.

Most conservatives will be willing to overlook the errors and inconsistencies in this manifesto. More troubling is the elevation of the state as protector of the family, regulator of the economy, director of education, and enforcer of traditional morality. This faith in government, the authors concede, "divides [them] from some purely economic conservatives, who seem to believe that a growing economy will solve all cultural problems." They are right, of course; the free market cannot solve moral and cultural problems; however, the cultural conservatives reject more than economic determinism. Almost fifty years ago James Burnham taught us that the managerial state established in the New Deal was our own analogue to fascism and Stalinism. If bright and well-intentioned conservatives think they know how to manage such a beast in their own interest, then they are in for the same rude surprise that Phaëton must have felt when he tried to drive the chariot of the sun. ☐

GORBACHEV'S DILEMMA

Brian Crozier

Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World, by Mikhail Gorbachev (Harper & Row, 254 pp., $19.95)

The remarkably gifted General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union comes close to spelling out his dilemma in this refreshing book. That is, he gives us all the clues, though he can't quite bring himself to put them together. But the clues are there, all right.

Early on, he starts a protracted lament for the difficulties, deterioration, and unresolved problems that beset the Soviet Union during the latter half of the Seventies. The country was "losing momentum." There was stagnation at a time when the technological revolution had opened up "new prospects for economic and social progress."

His reference to stagnation, in context, is revealing. He refers to "stagnation and other phenomena *alien to socialism*" (my emphasis). And there we have it. Stagnation and declining growth are not alien to socialism, but inherent in it. Being an intelligent man, Gorbachev probably realizes that, but he can't say it. Or more precisely, he can't say it and hope to remain in power.

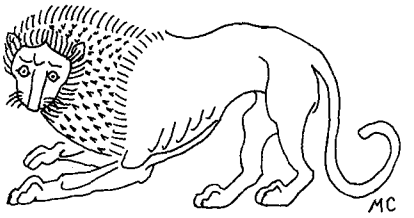
Indeed, he chides unnamed people in the West who say that socialism is to blame for the Soviet Union's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

economic and social problems, and who advise its leadership to "drift toward capitalism." He approximates to *glasnost* a few pages later, in a passage of some poignancy: "Just think: how can we agree that 1917 was a mistake and all the seventy years of our life, work, effort, and battles were also a complete mistake, that we were going in the 'wrong direction'?" It is possible to feel a twinge of sympathy for a Soviet leader who can manage to formulate so fundamental a question. But since the inescapable answer is unacceptable, indeed unthinkable, he goes on to thank socialism for all the achievements of the Soviet Union.

Still, having isolated the problem (decades of socialism, and we are stagnating), but being unable to tackle it at its roots, he had to come up with something, and that something was *perestroika* ("restructuring"). At this point, I have to say that, through a whole book on the subject, Gorbachev never quite clarifies what he means by *perestroika*. He has a lot to say about incentives and "cost accounting," and he indulges in a vast amount of euphoric rhetoric about pace, creative endeavor, organization, and efficiency. But he gives no very precise examples of how it is supposed to work in practice.

One thing he is insistent about: all this is going to be based on more socialism and more democracy. At this point, Comrade Mikhail moves, perhaps unconsciously, into the realm of inherent contradiction. For if socialism, after seventy years, has yielded stagnation, corruption, and a huge, monumentally inefficient bureaucracy (all of which he admits), how is "more socialism" going to cure those ills?



The General Secretary's answers are fascinatingly oblique. He spares bits of praise for Khrushchev (who attempted far more sweeping reforms than we have had so far from Gorbachev). He glosses over the long reign of Brezhnev (whose record he has publicly castigated), and has nothing to say about the short interregna of his mentor, KGB ex-chief Yuri Andropov, and the dullest of them all, Konstantin Chernenko. Indeed, there isn't much to say, if one is trying to impress foreign readers with the virtues of Soviet socialism.

No, one man and one man only has God-like status: the permanent inspirer, the patron saint who can do no wrong. There is something everlastingly comforting about Lenin, who died in January 1924, less than three years after launching his New Economic Policy, which partially restored private enterprise and was rapidly repairing an economy ravaged by war, revolution, and the first massive dose of socialist planning.

Lenin, being long dead, can't speak for himself, and the fact that he died when he did enables men on either side of the ideological chasm to appeal to his infallible authority. Gorbachev never quite gets round to saying that Lenin would have dropped socialist planning (which, again, would be unthinkable), but he comes close: "Gravely ill, Lenin was deeply concerned for the future of socialism. He perceived the lurking dangers of the new system. We, too, must understand this concern." That is the beauty of a dead and untouchable prophet. When Stalin took over, having exiled his rival, Trotsky (whom he later had murdered), he had no doubts about what Lenin would have done. The NEP had to go, and the long period of five-year plans began.

Stalin is the horrifying ghost from the Soviet Union's past. In his speech celebrating the seventieth anniversary of the Revolution last November, Gorbachev tackled the problem of Stalin's legacy with a caution bordering on timidity (a very pale reflection of Khrushchev's "secret" speech at the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956). It is instructive to find the same evasive euphemism about the horrors of Stalin's collectivization of the land in *Perestroika*: ". . . it proceeded painfully, *not without serious excesses* and blunders" (my emphasis). For "not without excesses," read "14 million dead of a man-made famine, with the occasional massacre to help." (The tally of deaths is the estimate by Robert Conquest in his definitive study, *Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine*, 1986.)

Why, in the face of such evasiveness, did I, in the first sentence of this review, describe *Perestroika* as a "refreshing book"? For the simple rea-

Want to brush up on a foreign language?

With Audio-Forum's intermediate and advanced materials, it's easy to maintain and sharpen your foreign language skills.

Besides intermediate and advanced audio-cassette courses—most developed for the U.S. State Dept.—we offer foreign-language mystery dramas, dialogs recorded in Paris, games, music, and many other helpful materials. And if you want to learn a *new* language, we have beginning courses for adults and for children.

We offer introductory and advanced materials in most of the world's languages: French, German, Spanish, Italian, Japanese, Mandarin, Greek, Russian, Portuguese, Korean, Norwegian, Swedish, and many others.

Our 15th Year

Call 1-800-243-1234 for FREE 32-p. catalog, or write:

AUDIO-FORUM® Room B229
96 Broad Street, Guilford, CT 06437
(203) 453-9794

SALE! SALE! SALE! SALE! SALE!

Price Includes "Your Own" Single Color Imprint on a Colored T-Shirt of Excellent Quality 50/50, made in Pennsylvania

FREE SHIPPING/DELIVERY

CELEBRATE OUR 10th ANNIVERSARY WITH THESE FANTASTIC PRICES

Single Color Imprint on

500 SHIRTS	$2.69	PRINTED & DELIVERED
400 SHIRTS	$2.73	PRINTED & DELIVERED
300 SHIRTS	$2.79	PRINTED & DELIVERED
200 SHIRTS	$2.85	PRINTED & DELIVERED

SAVE MORE- WHITE SHIRTS ARE 15¢ LESS!

Whether you need a simple one color or a complex multicolor custom printed garment, we have the experience to meet your needs. For printed T-shirts, hats, sweats, jackets, etc., call:

BLUE MT. GRAPHICS
125 Liberty Street, Allentown, PA 18102

CALL TOLL FREE 1-800-422-6067
in the Lehigh Valley call 776-5033

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

son that in the long, dreary context of Marxist-Leninist writing, it *is* refreshingly readable, in just the same way that Mikhail Gorbachev is amazingly effective as his own PR man.

And that, alas, is the heart of the Gorbachev problem, from a Western standpoint. The man *seems* so honest, so transparent, so sincere. Can he really be the boss of an evil empire? That saying of the old Ronald Reagan certainly touched a raw nerve in Gorbachev's epidermis; in his introduction, he tells us he found that phrase hurtful and unfair.

I confess I should feel easier about the General Secretary if he practiced a bit of *glasnost* in his references to Lenin. But he doesn't. *Perestroika*, he tells us casually, means democratic centralism and self-management; but he omits to explain that "democratic centralism" (one of Lenin's main contributions to revolutionary practice) means decisions taken by the little clique at the top of the Party. Similarly, he refrains from quoting Lenin's definition of peace as the condition that will prevail "only when we have vanquished and completely destroyed the bourgeoisie throughout the world."

So, if I am allowed one final word to sum up, that word shall be: "Beware!" □

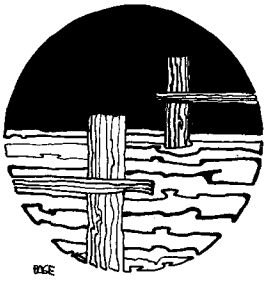
BOILING AN OCEAN

John P. Roche

The Key to Failure: Laos and the Vietnam War, by Norman B. Hannah (Madison, 335 pp., $19.95)

ABOUT 21 years ago an envelope arrived on my desk in the White House from William P. Bundy, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and the Pacific. Enclosed was a "Top Secret" document of about thirty pages with no listed author, and a handwritten note from Bill: with his slightly arch humor he asked me as "our resident Clausewitz" for my views on the enclosure.

The memorandum itself was an extremely persuasive argument for corking the bottle—that is, inserting land forces to block the Ho Chi Minh Trail in Laos. The author maintained (correctly, in my view) that it was nonsense to abide by the 1962 Geneva Accords and respect the neutrality of Laos when the North Viets were using the panhandle as their logistical base for supporting the assault on the South. However, having once fallen hook, line, and sinker for Chester Wilmot's *Struggle for Europe* (1952), in which he convincingly (to me) demonstrated that Churchill's strategy of striking the "soft underbelly" of Europe was preferable to our head-on "find 'em, pin 'em, kill 'em" approach, I was leery of the memo's seductive shortcut. What had disabused me about Wilmot's thesis was seeing this "soft underbelly" and then developing a lifelong affection for good topographical maps.



So I put the essay in the safe and sent out for maps and any contingency studies by Defense that might suggest the force levels necessary to establish and maintain such a blocking force. When the various precincts reported, I sat down to put the pieces together.

The thesis of Norman Hannah's new book is exactly the argument put forward in the earlier, anonymous memo. Reading the former reminds me of the headnotes to the critique I wrote for Bill Bundy, which fell into three overlapping categories: geographical, military, and political. For starters, the problem was that the bottle had no tidy aperture to cork. If we had positioned a force in Laos, the North Viets could simply have done an end run across the Mekong into similar terrain in Thailand and enveloped our troops. As to the number of troops required, I was lucky; someone (probably our ambassador to Laos, William Sullivan) had asked the same question and received a horseback judgment of seven divisions, i.e., over 100,000 men. (Hannah had presented his plan to Bill Sullivan and quotes the latter on this subject.)

One aspect of the Vietnam War that is constantly overlooked is our shortage of *fighting* manpower. Our engineers were putting in wall-to-wall air strips. I guessed that roughly a battalion was employed by the Macy's-sized PX in Cholon, but the number of guys out there on the ground with guns (Marines included) never went above roughly ninety thousand—even though our Eighth Army in Korea and our NATO forces were being stripped of their cadres. Experienced regulars, particularly NCOs, were being transferred to Vietnam. Finally, if memory serves, by the end of 1967 we had only three divisions in strategic reserve in the United States.

This appalling shortage was a consequence of President Johnson's effort to fight an invisible war: the Chiefs almost broke down the door of the Oval Office trying to get a reserve call-up and mobilization of the National Guard, but to no avail. Worse, we had refused to train ARVN, the South Vietnamese army. The net result was an acute shortage of maneuver battalions, and it should be clear that any force inserted into a Laotian barrier would require a very high teeth-to-tail ratio: its mission would be a "Hamburger Hill" war of attrition, not a hit-and-run proposition.

Let me re-emphasize the crucial point here. Hannah says in self-defense that after he had made his initial suggestion and was told by Bill Sullivan that it would take seven divisions, we did increase the troop count in Vietnam by well over 200,000. Why couldn't they have provided his cork? The answer lies in the proposition made above: most of the half-million men we finally had in Vietnam and, patently, the Seventh Fleet were not ground-soldiers. It was a high-tech war with a huge number of maintenance personnel, and, frankly, I never could figure out what many of them did.

But whatever they did, they were not "grunts," out there in the brush fighting savage battles with North Vietnamese regulars (PAVN). Here I must flatly disagree with Hannah on the nature of the war. In Laos, where he was a high State Department officer, the problem was guerrilla warfare; consequently there was a heavy U.S. emphasis on counter-insurgency. In South Vietnam after 1964 it was a conventional war comparable to the Burma or New Guinea campaigns of World War II. The Army and Marine units in their search-and-destroy missions were not encountering barefoot guerrillas; they were tangling with probably the toughest soldiers we have faced since the Japanese, soldiers armed with the latest Soviet equip-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment and (like the Japanese) incredibly self-sufficient in logistical terms. In short, you couldn't put a cork in Laos with airplane mechanics, radar operators, aviation engineers, cooks, bakers, and clerks. The phrase I was looking for in 1967 arrived only in 1984: "Where's the beef?"

Finally, what about the political repercussions of such an incursion into Laos? Hannah makes much of the fact that we permitted the North Viets to use eastern Laos as a privileged sanctuary, for which the unarticulated quid pro quo was their respect for the population centers of Laos along the Mekong in the west. This, he submits, was a bum deal. If this were the whole story, he would be absolutely right. However, there is a crucial dimension he wholly overlooks in his calculus of interest: Thailand.

Let me formulate a scenario: 1) the U.S. somehow conjures up seven infantry divisions and plants them in Laos; 2) the PAVN cross the Mekong to the west and invade Thailand and western Laos, an exercise comparable to cutting butter with a hot knife; 3) in their first burst the PAVN overrun two of our major airfields, Ubon Ratchathani and Udon Thani, each with a number of six-thousand-foot-plus runways; 4) Bangkok calls on us for salvation.

Step 5 is up to you. Suffice it to say that for years we were blowing hell out of the Ho Chi Minh Trail and other assorted enemy targets from those and other Thai airfields, and, despite their vulnerability, the bases had no significant perimeter defense problems. In other words, Thailand was our "privileged sanctuary" and no one in his right mind wanted to widen the Indochinese War even further. Didn't we have enough *tsuris* already? (as we say in Brooklyn).

Thus I'm afraid we end up with Will Rogers's claim to taxonomic fame in World War I. Asked for his thoughts on the U-boat menace, Rogers replied that the solution was simple: heat the ocean up to the boiling point. Asked how, Rogers smiled and said, "I'm a strategist—that's a problem for you tacticians." Norman Hannah has written an excellent brief for a strategy that for domestic political reasons and the reluctance of "McNamara's Band" to make a fighting force out of ARVN we were simply incapable of implementing. □

OUR SECRET VICE

Joseph Sobran

Egalitarian Envy: The Political Foundations of Social Justice, by Gonzalo Fernández de la Mora, translated by Antonio T. de Nicolás (Paragon House, 208 pp., $21.95)

"HUMAN KIND has reacted toward envy with more ignorance and concealment than toward sex," says Gonzalo Fernández de la Mora. One of the seven deadly sins, it's hardly mentioned any more, even though sacred and secular literature gives us such archetypes as Cain and Iago, haters of the superior. It's the most shameful and least satisfying of vices: "One may admit to pride, avarice, lust, anger, gluttony, and laziness, and one may even boast of them. There is only one capital sin no one admits to: envy. . . . Its symbol ought to be a mask."

In *Egalitarian Envy: The Political Foundations of Social Justice*, de la Mora follows Nietzsche, Scheler, and Helmut Schoeck in seeing envy as the core of modern political mass-movements. He cites Nietzsche's interesting remark that envious people become more intelligent than nobler ones (Iago outsmarts Othello), and he agrees with Freud's criticism of Marxism: even if economic inequality were eliminated, de la Mora remarks, "there will be envious people as long as a woman prefers one man to others." He disagrees with Schoeck's thesis that a certain level of envy is probably good for society. He sees it as a completely unredeemed vice, which feels no pleasure even when it destroys the superiority it hates.

Discussions of envy are never conclusive, since by its nature it's an elusive thing about which little can be proved and about which, moreover, little is confessed. So the notion that egalitarianism stems from envy always sounds like a plausible but shaky accusation. The best argument for this idea, I suppose, is that the proponents of social leveling rarely abandon their projects when they turn out to produce misery without eliminating inequality. The goal of socialism may be not heaven on earth but hell on earth, in which one's enemies are punished.

De la Mora reviews the literature on envy—what there is of it—all the way back to the pre-Socratics. As usual, Aquinas seems to have made the basic distinctions: envy is "sadness at the good of others in so far as they are superior to our own." Jealousy is sadness at the good of others, not because they have it but because we lack it; indignation is sadness at the good of others in so far as they don't deserve it.

De la Mora devotes his later chapters to showing how envy operates as a social and political motive under the guise of egalitarianism. He wants to show that equality is in almost every respect a will-o'-the-wisp. Of course it all depends on how you define it. In most ways men are obviously not equal and never can be. But, as Harry Jaffa reminds us, political equality in our own tradition originally had a very simple and specific meaning: no man is by nature another's subject. This kind of equality is merely a different name for freedom. De la Mora agrees that we all have certain fundamental rights, so he may be as much an egalitarian as Jaffa; but he is one of those for whom "equality" is a

LET US TEACH YOUR CHILDREN THEIR CULTURAL ABCs:

Atlas, Bible stories, Cortés, Don Quixote, Emily Brontë, Fables, Grimm, Hannibal, Isaac, Johnny Appleseed, Kipling, Lang, Music, Natural science, Orion, Perrault, Queen Esther, Remington, Samson, Tom Sawyer, pUzzles, Valley Forge, Wassail, Xerxes, CaseY Jones, Zebulon Pike

$13.95 for a one-year subscription
St. Paul's Family Magazine
P.O. Box 772R, Ft. Scott, KS 66701
(send $3.00 for a sample copy)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fighting word (even though Aquinas says all men by nature are equal in rights).

Of course there is plenty of confusion about the meaning of equality, and to that extent de la Mora is justified in attacking its many fraudulent versions. Provided, that is, he leaves room for its legitimate sense. But he seems intent on proving that it *has* no legitimate sense, an approach that I think strays into the error of reductionism.

He is stronger when he attacks the principle of majority rule. "Despite the proclamations of the majoritarian principle," he writes, "egalitarians fall into the contradiction of requiring at times a unanimous consensus while at other times they side with the minorities. The so-called consensus is a nostalgic fallback on unanimity and a tacit acceptance that majorities are not sufficient. The siding at times with minorities is also an admission that numbers do not express truth or goodness." About the most that can be said for majority rule is that in some circumstances it's a reasonable convention that arrives peacefully at the likeliest outcome of a contest of sheer force.

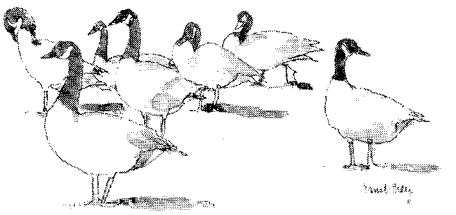
Whatever shortcomings it may have, *Egalitarian Envy* is an intelligent and imaginative book that freshly reconceives some familiar problems. Gary Hart likes to talk about "new ideas." I'd love to watch his face while he read this one. □

UNCOVERING STALINISM

Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

Winter in Moscow, by Malcolm Muggeridge (Eerdmans, 271 pp., $8.95)

BEFORE THERE was Solzhenitsyn, or Pasternak, or Djilas, or Orwell, or Koestler, there was Muggeridge. He covered, or uncovered, the Soviet Union for the *Manchester Guardian* in 1932-33, laying bare its stupendous horrors even as Walter Duranty and Claud Cockburn were dutifully retailing their obsequious lies about Stalin for American and English readers. He told the West about the Ukrainian famine, a feature of Stalin's farm-collectivization program whose magnitude



—on the order of 14 million deaths —is only now penetrating the consciousness.

The truth about Stalin was only part of the story Muggeridge had to tell, the other part being the lies of the tyrant's Western sycophants. In *Winter in Moscow*—first published in 1934 and now reissued by Eerdmans in a handsome paperback edition, with an eloquent introduction by Michael Aeschliman—Muggeridge uses the medium of a satirical novel to tell the world about the role of his contemptible journalistic colleagues, without whom the Gulag would not have been possible.

Solzhenitsyn gives us the scope and scale of Stalinism. Muggeridge's beat is the detail, the vignette, the miniature scene that mustn't be allowed to fall beneath our notice, such things providing revelations of how the whole evil was realized at the level of ordinary life. He introduces us, for example, to Jefferson, the Duranty-like American journalist who always knows which way the wind is blowing: "He kept up-to-date in his allegiances." When word of the famine threatens to leak out, Jefferson is forced to draw on all his resources:

> He'd been asked to write something about the food shortage, and was trying to put together a thousand words which, if the famine got worse and known outside Russia, would suggest that he'd foreseen and foretold it, but which, if it got better and wasn't known outside Russia, would suggest that all along he'd poohpoohed the possibility of there being a famine.

Muggeridge's Western journalists fraternize with what Djilas would later teach us to call the New Class, the privileged, profiteering, parasitical ruling apparatus of Bolshevism, whose members spout absurd statistics of industrial and agricultural production as ordinary Russians starve in the streets. Fools and cynics, these Westerners feast at Stalin's table, and are so eager to oblige him that his censorship is almost otiose.

Their words are the only link between the Soviet reality and their readers, and Muggeridge, the astringent stylist, is fascinated by a language that has entirely lost its moorings. Stalinist oratory is no more mendacious than the dispatches of the Jeffersons.

What Muggeridge shows us is an enclave of luxurious corruption, lust, envy, and spite within an empire of ghastly misery. The progressive-minded correspondents are eager to get in on the free love they've heard about. One new arrival asks breathlessly where she can find the local abortion center ("Do you do foreigners?").

We also meet the less privileged. A peasant woman briskly kills her three starving children with an axe, then lures a Communist officer into her house, where it's his turn. *Pravda* takes the incident as the occasion for an alarmist editorial titled "We must increase class vigilance on the agricultural front."

Mordant satire, to be sure, written out of an abyss of desolate cynicism, but Muggeridge renders it all with a vividness that is constantly believable. And we know, as readers in 1934 can't have known, that if these things didn't happen, far worse things did. Jonathan Swift never showed human beings behaving as contemptibly as Muggeridge's characters do (the few exceptions, toward the end of the book, come as a relief, though they can't prevail in such a world).

What drives it all is a colossally frustrated pity, an outrage that people can stand by and permit their fellow men to be reduced to a level of suffering where absolutely no dignity can exist. Muggeridge can express this in a swift gesture: a hungry man snatches an orange peel from a spittoon and eats it. The man with the orange hardly notices; he goes on chattering with his companion.

As always, Muggeridge writes brilliantly. Every sentence is a sure stroke of color or wit, even when the message seems relentlessly bleak. In the middle of the book he pauses for a direct *cri de cœur*: an argument that even Bolshevism must at last exhaust itself, because such malignity can't be sustained forever. It is as if this faith was all he had to keep him going after what he had seen. An angrier book has never been written, nor one whose fury was so richly justified by its contents. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YOUR PLACE OR MINE?

J. O. Tate

An Adultery, A Novel, by Alexander Theroux (Simon & Schuster, 396 pp., $18.95)

WHEN IT comes to writing, there's no one around like Alexander Theroux. He is that rare sort, a performer whose strenuous exhibitions one does not merely read; one collects them like the contemporary classics they are. Theroux is a challenger, a competitor; he says to the reader peremptorily, "En garde!" So one may ask more nervously than the original did, "These foils have all a length?"

Alexander Theroux's *Three Wogs* (1972) was a sensationally fresh and nervy toot of a book. *Darconville's Cat* [reviewed in *NR*, May 29, 1981] may perhaps be described as a tragic Harlequin romance word-processed by Herman Melville: a book to be mentioned in the same breath with *Hadrian the Seventh*, *Ulysses*, *The Apes of God*, *At Swim-Two-Birds*, *Pale Fire*, *Gravity's Rainbow*, and *Mulligan Stew*. And there are other ways in which Theroux himself has taught his readers how to read his books.

An Adultery recapitulates the themes of romance and revenge, of love, lust, and betrayal, of the multifoliate contradictions of life and art. But Theroux has this time narrowed his scope, simplified his language, and restricted his range. This thinning of texture is, however, an adjustment of richness. The champ still has all his moves. What does the perfect malicious postcard say? "*Scenery is here. Wish you were beautiful.*" How should a pair of unattractive twins be described? "It was the evil of two lessers." A real drag? "Her company was to the day what a body cast is to ballet." Narcissistic psychobabble? "Her phrases were to English, so to speak, what Bowl-O-Rama Moderne was to interior decoration." Theroux does not stint with his set pieces any more than Dale Murphy withholds home runs.

> But once we arrived I remember little different about that party, except us. It was of course the usual factitious meeting of coarse-grained stupidity and default. Mr. Menageranium and Ruth Gumplowitz were arguing about the worth of Pakistani rugs. Several of those women with three names, all shanks and bangles and slatted eyes, stood in a gather defending the making of nasturtium chutney as art. "What about single parenting?" asked someone. "Or the application of cosmetics?" *Or shooting someone*, I thought, as I saw "Tiny" Maxine across the room loudly barking at someone. Drink had given her the look of a flounder with migrating eyes.

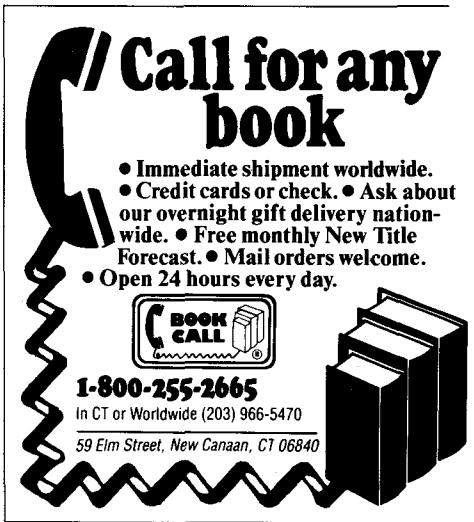
An Adultery is a first-person narrative by Christian Ford, an artist who neglects an innocent beloved in favor of a married woman, Farol Colorado, who seems to be epically neurotic but is worse. Farol's name seems to anticipate the use of "feral." The innocent's name, Marina Falieri, conjures Byron's *Marino Faliero* and its Venetian setting and associations extending through James and Rolfe and Mann. *An Adultery* is an exhaustive exploration of destructive paradoxes, of a "bizarre chiasmus," of a quadrilateral triangle that becomes a polyhedron.

So this novel seems to be mostly a self-inquisition interlaced with satirical passages. The auto-analysis seems to flaunt echoes of other narrators: "Madness, do I say? It wasn't madness. I was completely rational, as calm as I was cold and as cold as camphor." That sounds like one of Poe's wonderful dingbats. I suppose that a voluble narrator who has the crust to say "I won't expatiate" *on page 384* has to be thought of as at least a little bit unreliable. This narrator knows that and, in effect, says so. His involvement in a disastrous love affair with a woman he calls a "jerk" and a "pain in the ass" has finally to be seen by him as—elaborately—his own fault. The price to be paid is higher than he could ever have guessed, and revealed in an ending that takes the form of self-knowledge defined by loss.

Agony can be agonizing; exhaustiveness can be exhausting. *An Adultery* is not itself adulterated by any concessions to the reader. It is a demanding experience, a relentless exposure, a heroic exploration of the shadows of motive, meaning, and language. It is also a lot of fun, when Theroux whips his cracks: "She had all the characteristics of a dog, except fidelity." Or again: "Valor is not the only thing discretion is the better part of." Often, however, Kit Ford celebrates his own ecphrasistic paintings or limns the glory of love in an extravagance of romanticism. Or he elaborates the fury and the keenness of his intelligence on the most unworthy of objects: Farol Colorado herself. But Chapter 11 of Part II is an undramatized essay on adultery that isn't focused on either participant, though it is the thought of one of them. The truth of the reflection doesn't arrest the folly of the man who—fictionally—knew it:

> The despair at the heart of adultery is that it cannot be rescued from the contingency of its origins, and any attempt at total stability is consistently undermined by the lack of commitment taught by the very means it came your way. Every rule therefore becomes an infraction, every luxury a privation, and every privilege a forfeiture.

When the narrator wonders about the man-killer—"Why . . . was there never a middle ground between the high triumphant siren and the lost embittered soul?"—he might be asking what some readers will demand of his creator. But this is a story about art and love; this novel is a self-referential Roman candle, a "turn of the screw" about a "romantic ghoul." *An Adultery* is an outrageous imposition for which we volunteer because no one else addresses us just this way:


Call for any book
• Immediate shipment worldwide.
• Credit cards or check. • Ask about our overnight gift delivery nationwide. • Free monthly New Title Forecast. • Mail orders welcome.
• Open 24 hours every day.
BOOK CALL
1-800-255-2665
In CT or Worldwide (203) 966-5470
59 Elm Street, New Canaan, CT 06840

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

PUBLISHED IN 1976, George Nash's *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945* concludes with a chapter entitled "Can the Vital Center Hold?" in which Mr. Nash a) assesses the accuracy of Jeffrey Hart's 1966 prediction that, while many American liberals would continue to move still further leftward, many others would inevitably turn to the Right; b) discusses the rebirth of Irving Kristol and Norman Podhoretz as "new conservatives"; c) speculates on the impact of the "momentous intellectual realignment" that had taken place early in the 1970s, and the possibilities for a "rejuvenation" of conservative thought by refugees from the fever swamps of contemporary left-liberalism; and d) ends with the assertion that, while conservatives had succeeded in bringing "new colors" to the American scene, they faced the enormous challenge of "defend[ing] enduring truths in a language appealing to America in the 1970s." It is a measure of how much—and how little—has transpired over the last dozen years that *The Conservative Movement* (Twayne Publishers, 70 Lincoln Street, Boston, Mass. 02111; $18.95), by Paul Gottfried and Thomas Fleming (a work that is only a quarter the length of Nash's, although it too begins with 1945), hurries through the developments of the Fifties and Sixties in two brief chapters, before plunging ahead into analyses of such jazzy topics as sociobiology, Jerry Falwell, the New Right, direct mail, political-action committees, conservative think-tanks, and the triumph of neoconservatism. Most interestingly, however, Gottfried and Fleming's conclusion in 1988 is identical with Nash's in 1976: "Conservatives in the 1980s might take considerable comfort from contemplating their forty-year rise to power . . . some changes were made, some impact was had upon the American experience. . . . However much doctrines may have altered, the fact remains that by the 1980s a great many Americans, perhaps more than at any other time, were willing to identify themselves as 'conservatives.'"

In that reference to altered doctrines, however, is to be found the kernel of this book. "Nineteen eighty," Gottfried and Fleming write, "was the *anno domini* of American conservatism." Or was it? The election of Ronald Reagan was greeted by many conservatives as the reward of 35 years of struggle in the political wilderness. Yet, the movement that triumphed was no longer truly *their* movement: "Ronald Reagan's election redefined [it], decided its priorities, and finally condemned some of its principles and causes to outer darkness." Therefore: "One conclusion that may be drawn from this book," the authors state, "is the increasing irrelevance of pre-war, especially non-American, traditionalist thinking for the postwar Right. A distinctive feature of the contemporary American Right is its emphasis on progress; moving beyond the past toward a future of unlimited material opportunity and social improvement." With the exception of the Old Right and libertarian core, every component of the present-day American Right—New Right, Evangelical Right, and neoconservative—accepts the welfare state both in the reality and in the ideal. For all his brilliance, James Burnham, in *Suicide of the West*, failed to foresee that the liberal premises he was arguing against would, twenty years later, provide the substance of a transformed American Right. "Significantly," Gottfried and Fleming conclude, "what have been described as conservative attitudes may no longer be relevant to what are now the dominant tendencies in American conservatism."

For this state of affairs, *The Conservative Movement* offers several explanations, the first, and simplest, of which is situational. "Presentism, as viewed by reformers, has conservative effects, even if it happens to support a society radically altered by earlier change"—which is only an inverse way of stating that, in a "progressive" society, the spectrum of political opinion keeps moving leftward. Explanation number two is more specific, and much more pointed. Too many conservatives, Gottfried and Fleming believe, have chosen place, patronage, and popular journalism over the claims of scholarship and serious theoretical investigation. Also, they have ignored major developments in the cognitive sciences, such as Edward O. Wilson's findings in sociobiology and Noam Chomsky's in linguistic and psychological theory, which have profound implications for conservative thought. Explanation number three has to do with those "vast herds of liberals," as the Southern historian Clyde Wilson called them, driven "across the borders into our territories" by "the offensives of radicalism." "These refugees," said Wilson, "now speak in our name, but the language they speak is the same one they always spoke."

The Conservative Movement, in fact, is a polite, carefully controlled diatribe against the neoconservatives and the warping effect they have had on American conservatism. Gottfried and Fleming present neoconservatism as a movement composed of a relatively small group of disaffected rationalists and problem-solvers, academically minded and fundamentally contemptuous of the Old Rightists whose traditionalism they presume to displace with the secular pieties of global-democratic capitalism. Partly because the intellectual temper of the Old Right is essentially literary and theological rather than social-scientific, neoconservative "intellectuals" have insinuated themselves into policy-making positions and forums to such an extent that they have succeeded in "weaken[ing] and defund[ing] whatever rightist challenge to the status quo might have existed," and in making conservatism "synonymous in people's minds with a defense of democratic capitalism and global democracy."

IN THEIR concluding chapter, "Reagan and Beyond," the authors argue, however, that, with the New Right in financial collapse and the neoconservatives lacking a popular base and liable moreover to political tugs from conservative Democrats, the Old Right may prove to be the component most capable of attracting mass support in favor of substantial, perhaps almost revolutionary, changes in American government and society. But, they warn: "Unless the Old Right gains visibility and resources to win back its straying followers and to find new constituencies, it will not play the successor role to what might be the faltering neoconservatives." □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We all end up living secret lives. We create what we are willing to admire and admiring what we shouldn't confess to the secret of our own sin, our own insufficiency, our own sadness. We all end up taking our secrets into the world and handing them over to strangers, only to realize it's often too late to claim them back. The very nature of time passing is sad beyond words. Memories mean that they're gone.

In other words, in my end is my beginning. *An Adultery* is a novel by Alexander Theroux. □

SOUND ON DISC

MOLDY FIGS, REJOICE!

Ralph de Toledano

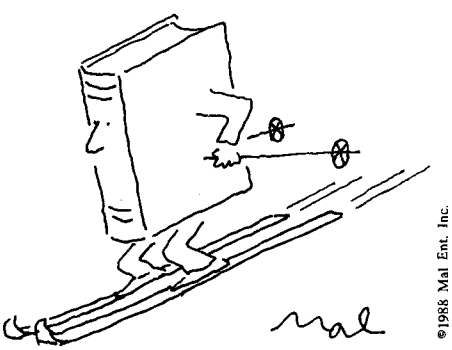
It was, I sometimes feel, around the turn of the century that I met Art Hodes. The late John Hammond drove me out to the butt end of Staten Island to hear "a Chicago piano player waiting to get his 802 card." We found him in a beer parlor, playing waltzes—but when the last drunk had left, Hodes leaned over the keyboard of the upright and let us hear it. He was a thin man—thinner than God made spinach—a kind of rueful knight of jazz. But he had it all in his fingers and his head—the blues and the gutbucket music that came up from New Orleans—the good, the righteous, the moldy-fig jazz.

Art Hodes moved upward and onward, perhaps aided by a bunch of Jelly Roll Morton arrangements that I pressed into his hand some time later. There were jazz musicians with much more technique than Art, but few could match him in the body and soul of what he played. He never gave in to the big-band money, perhaps because he knew that, playing the swing-*cum*-pops of the era, he would have begun climbing walls. But his dedication to the music got him a following among jazzmen and aficionados. You could hear him night after night, in the jazz joints that still existed in Greenwich Village or on 52nd Street. His first recording was made by Dan Qualey, a Yiddish-speaking Irish bartender who put every nickel he had into cutting the best there was in piano jazz.

Because God is good to little children, drunks, and jazz buffs, you can hear the very best of what Art Hodes recorded over the years on *The Complete Art Hodes Blue Note Sessions* (Mosaic MR5-114)—five LPs in a series of 78s issued by Alfred Lion's Blue Note in the good days of jazz (Mosaic Records, 197 Strawberry Hill Avenue, Stamford, Conn. 06902). It is not only Art Hodes that you will hear in this loving compendium of jazz and blues, but other fine and sometimes ignored sidemen like Max Kaminsky, Rod Cless, Vic Dickenson, Mezz Mezzrow, Edmond Hall, & Co. This is the kind of music to hear when *le cafard te pénètre* and when a drink is only a partial cure. Here is the warm, the rich, the meaningful music that will never be played again.

□ Art Hodes was—and I hope still is—a total jazzman. Dick Wellstood, who died recently, was of another school and another temperament. He said of himself that he was a "contemporary musician who uses tools that are out of fashion"—a wry comment on his eschewal of the bop-sock-rock school of cacophony and bad taste. He played jazz because he loved it and because being a jazz musician relieved him of the burdens of conformity—but I do not think it was a consuming passion. What recording he did—and there was not much—was for obscure labels and usually with musicians who were not headliners. This, though he was perhaps the leading exponent of a school now represented only, and partly, by Teddy Wilson.

It was commonly said that Dick Wellstood was a carbon copy of Fats Waller, but this is neither accurate nor true. Yes, he could imitate Fats better than anyone else, but his real roots were in the blues and stride piano of James P. Johnson—that very great Harlem pianist who could play with power and dynamism and yet could be infinitely tender. There was, moreover, an element that emerged shyly and very sparsely in some of Wellstood's solos that harked back in mood to Bix Beiderbecke. You can sense this in *The Classic Jazz Quartet MCMLXXXVIII*, a superb recording featuring subtle and lovely arrangements by Dick Sudhalter for his horn and for Wellstood's rich and sensitive pianism (Stomp Off Records, 549 Fairview Terrace, York, Pa. 17403).



©1988 Mal Ent. Inc.

Two other top-drawer small-band records featuring Dick Wellstood come from Aviva (P.O. Box 156, Hicksville, N.Y. 11802). *Take Me to the Land of Jazz*, by the Marty Grosz/Dick Wellstood Quintet, presents Wellstood in solo playing James P.'s memorable "Snowy Morning Blues"—faithful to the original yet bringing to it the Wellstood touch. "Anything for You," another cut in the album, shows what depth and variety can be elicited from a handful of notes. *I Hope Gabriel Likes My Music*, by Marty Grosz and His Blue Angels, offers a rousing evocation of "Serenade to a Wealthy Widow," the old Reginald Foresythe warhorse that Fats chased up and down the keyboard in the Thirties. It revives, too, that bluesy Jack Teagarden showpiece "Junkman" as a vehicle for the entire group. These three LPs are excellent examples of the "old-fashioned" jazz being played in the early 1980s by inspired musicians who cleave to the jazz tradition.

□ For "moldy figs" like myself, Hodes, and Wellstood, the small band is the best and purest voice of jazz. But the swing era, with its big bands, provided its own excitement and much that was more than merely notable. Now Martin Williams, perhaps the most perceptive of jazz anthologists, has put together, with impeccable taste and historic sense, a box of six LPs for the Smithsonian Institution—*Singers and Soloists of the Swing Bands*, with excellent annotation by Mark Tucker. Here, in one package, you will find the music that America danced to, listened to, and enthused over from 1929 until the early 1950s.

It is a measure of this collection that the first cut is the Paul Whiteman "After You've Gone," vintage 1929, with Bing Crosby—the jazz singer, not the crooner—doing the vocal and Andy Secrest (a trumpet player who buried his talents in Hollywood studio

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bands) soloing in an arrangement by William Grant Still—clean, jazz-bound, and without the arabesques and pretensions of Ferde Grofé, Bill Challis, and other Whiteman arrangers. Here, too, in this compendium are some of the best post-Hot Seven Louis Armstrong sides; that dazzling Bunny Berigan recording of "I Can't Get Started"; and, as they say in the commercials, much more. For example: the tenors Chew Berry and Coleman Hawkins in their prime; Benny Goodman's star vocalists in a series of great hits; bands we tend to forget, like Cab Calloway's and Jimmy Lunceford's; Tommy Dorsey with the old (or rather, young) Frank Sinatra; a bevy of Ellingtons featuring his superlative sidemen; Jack Teagarden and his perfect "I Gotta Right to Sing the Blues"; etc., etc. Here and there I may disagree with what is included—for instance, Larry Clinton and Bea Wain on "At Long Last Love," instead of that combination's "My Heart Belongs to Daddy." There is Irving Fazola with Bob Crosby's band doing "My Inspiration"—applause, applause—but not the forgotten Fazola solo on "Song of the Islands."

I wait hopefully for the Smithsonian to issue the unexpurgated Library of Congress musical and spoken autobiography of Jelly Roll Morton. And a selection of the small-band jazz of the Thirties and Forties would make a needed companion to the Smithsonian's *Big Band Jazz* and this album. I understand that the Jelly Roll Morton is being considered, but I would gladly cooperate in the preparation of a small-band, 52nd Street collection. □

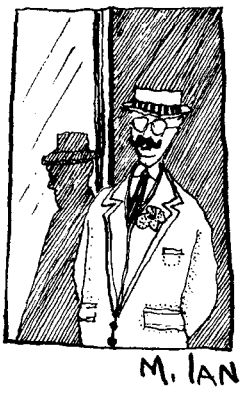
THE GIMLET EYE

EVIL ROCK NEARS MIDDLE AGE

D. Keith Mano

TOM DOYLE'S teeth are going. He'll say no to my candy bar and thank you: it's been some while since there was money left over for dental care. At 37, Doyle is still a rock guitarist and songwriter. He has been playing with Evil Rock for twenty years or so—they started together as street-music people in the East Village way back when. One look at Doyle can give me tonic spasms of nostalgia. His coiffure was scalped either from Tiny Tim or from Louis XIV. On that forty-ish head, in 1988, shoulder-length hair seems as preposterous as a snood on Rambo. Doyle, of late, has been doing the occasional three-dollar Village gig and some "chump change" menial work. He remains enthusiastic, nonetheless, and resolute: no more embittered than hopeful. Doyle, after all, has had a remarkably unspectacular career.

"The first day I brought home a guitar—July 1965—my stepfather threw it into the street." That should've told Doyle something. But these were the 1960s and rock music had become amniotic fluid for a brave new world to swim in. "July of 1969. I graduated, gave my mother my diploma, and took off for Boston with $50 and my guitar. In November, busted, with short hair, I escaped back to the Bronx." Women were the consolation prize: they'll follow even a failed rock musician like Hamelin rats. "That kept us going pretty much. It was more than just teenage lust. We were invited to their houses for dinner."



His financial unsuccess has been monumental. Today Doyle couldn't afford to buy the air rights over a beer coaster. There has been some glory, yes: *Hair* (the movie), one David Frost appearance, an album with John Lennon and Yoko Ono—for which he was offered $120, $93, and $10 respectively. And no credit whatever. Evil Rock, a non-union outfit, has been blacked out of more rock videos and photographs and albums than any other group. "I saw the entire *Hair* layout. Sure enough, if there was a picture of us, it had been Xed out." Old-line Communist Party hacks got similar treatment during the Stalin era: instant non-personhood. The rock business is as vicious and unsentimental as a South African necklace party.

Doyle first ran across Lennon while playing in Washington Square Park. Together they cut an album called *The Pope Smokes Dope*. White sound would've sold better: *Pope* got banned worldwide about one half-hour after release. Doyle said no when given a $10 contract for fifty hours' work. And Evil Rock was deleted from the album cover. Doyle also sang with John Lennon and Yoko Ono (and Jerry Rubin) at an Ann Arbor concert to free John Sinclair, then in prison for pot use. "Lennon showed the power he had. The law was changed in Ann Arbor. And they let Sinclair loose within a week."

Evil Rock was airbrushed from photographs of that concert as well. Later, however, Yoko Ono did a retrospective video and, miracle, forgot to erase Doyle. He sued: the settlement was $500. "Others in our group said, 'Oh, no, we don't want to sue and be on the wrong side.' And I said, 'Hey, I'm starvin', man—I have nothing and this multimillionaire is using me.'" Doyle, though against our Vietnam involvement, was and remains a political conservative. Probably the longest-haired conservative since our Risen Lord. Young rock musicians, he knew, were an eager and gullible cadre—easily manipulated to serve the leftist agenda. "They thought they were playing music that would benefit their career. They were benefiting something they weren't aware of."

Three children and a brutal Massachusetts divorce followed. Hum this Doyle lyric: "Now you're in debt for fifty years. / So take my advice and stay away from this state, / It's a matriarchy and a commonwealth of fear." And, worse, disco arrived. "The condition of the musician in America is getting worse. The new technology is eliminating him. It started with the use of automatic drummers. Then, on keyboard and synthesizer, you have automatic bass players. So you've knocked off two people who, all their lives, were perfecting their art." The high-tech adventure did curtail drug use. It is now so expensive to produce and market rock that no record company will risk investment in kids who have a drug rep.

"Went to CEDA for Electronic Result Tech Hi-Fi position." I quote from "Twenty Years of Hell," a one-page Doyle life summary. "Laid off for budget cut. Survived on Manpower jobs. Lived in Roxbury (Boston slum). Robbed at gunpoint. Because of poverty, summoned to court for child

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

support. Forced to work from prison trucks with murderers, rapists, and thieves. Continued writing songs, submitting to every known label from New York to Nashville. Through years from 1969 to present, always tipped if you s--- d---, you will get breaks. Sorry, if I am to be a success, I still want to be able to sleep with a clean conscience."

I didn't understand what he meant at first. But it is Doyle's contention that 90 per cent of the people he has known who succeeded in rock did so through homosexual favors given. "You have to have money—or you gotta bend over. You see guys made up like women, with a feminine attitude and their write-up maybe that they're macho Joe—but in reality they had to be somebody's patsy at one time." Well, you learn something every day.

But Doyle isn't quitting. I figure he'll do a gig at his own nursing home some day. "My words are clean love songs or honest lessons to be learned in life. They have nothing to do with Satanism, nothing to do with killing people." Apparently, that isn't enough. Some days you wanna say to the American Dream—just go away, and let the poor guy sleep in peace. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Land of Opportunity: The Entrepreneurial Spirit in America, by Donald Lambro (Little, Brown, 176 pp., $17.95)

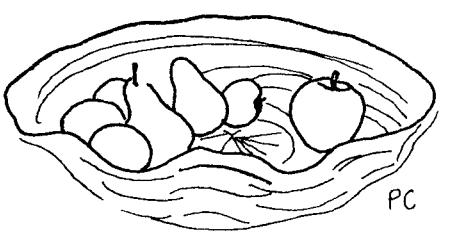
POPULAR HISTORY has it that the 1980s have been the decade of the entrepreneur, a wily creature said to be responsible for the decline of the Rustbelt and the rise of the Sunbelt. An entire rhetoric has grown up around the term "entrepreneur." Ask almost anyone for a rough description of this seemingly ubiquitous beast, and a generic answer will be provided: tired of working for someone else, has an idea for a new product for which there is as yet no demand, is a maverick, and, of course, starts the new enterprise in his or her basement or garage. All live happily ever after. Syndicated columnist Donald Lambro contributes to this rhetoric with *Land of Opportunity*. The book is chock-full of the requisite success stories, from Steven Jobs (Apple Computer) to Debbi Fields (Mrs. Fields Cookies), as well as such gushy lines as these vintage samples of the entrepreneurial rhetoric: "They are America's idea makers and risk takers. They dream great dreams and make them come true. They create something out of nothing. . . . They are authentic American heroes." Lambro oddly combines this hero-worship with some solid economic reportage (the book's most useful feature) making a case for deregulation, and he wraps it up with a free-market wish list, which includes repeal of the Davis-Bacon Act, a youth sub-minimum wage, elimination of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and (of course) the creation of enterprise zones. It seems as if the author was unable to decide whether to write a book about entrepreneurship (as it is billed) or one that makes a strong populist case for deregulation. What is left is a handbook of entrepreneurial rhetoric, which, with its detailed index, should be on the shelf of every cheerleading speechwriter for GOP candidates and the Reagan Administration. T. HARVEY HOLT

BROOKHISER
(Continued from page 30)

But the main source of conservative reluctance is, I suspect, in that part of the mind where philosophy buds from the branch of temperament. "At the present time," wrote political scientist Kenneth Minogue, "most of us are, in some degree or other, liberal. It is only the very cynical, the unassailably religious, or the consistently nostalgic who have remained unaffected."

And where, in such a catalogue, is Jack Kemp? He is plainly the opposite of cynical. He would never agree with Samuel Beckett's line, "People are bloody ignorant apes." There is no drop of nostalgia in him. He does not feel the world-historical pathos of Pickett's charge. He has not memorized the complete works of William Faulkner, or Margaret Mitchell.

If he fits at all, it is among the religious. It's not a religion a lot of the right wing likes. Kemp goes to church every Sunday (Presbyterian), and courts evangelicals. But politically, he worships at the altar of men. Only let them work, and society will be a cornucopia, here or anywhere.



The disgruntled may brood about this all the way to New Orleans. My guess is, if Kemp starts losing, no one will care. If he starts winning, everyone will salute. To me he looks damn good. □

WOOLMAN
(Continued from page 38)

heterosexual (and homosexual) promiscuity and prostitution. Am I missing something, or aren't these things that conservatives should welcome?

Last spring *NR* carried an editorial entitled "Tragic Confusion," which seems to describe all too well the state of conservative thought on these subjects. This editorial said, "No one wants to persecute or cause pain to homosexuals." This is sadly and obviously untrue. As I said in my first letter, the overwhelming majority of the sex problems in our society are heterosexual in nature: rape, child abuse, abortion, etc. What we need is not more heterosexuality (or homosexuality), but better, more responsible sexuality. We cannot achieve this through heterosexual hypocrisy that ignores the real problems of our society in favor of macho moralizing.

What this controversy really demonstrates is how difficult it is for public-health officials to carry out their duties in a pluralistic society. Reducing the health risk of certain behavior may in some sense encourage that behavior. "Moralists" may value continence above the public health, but is that a viable position for a public-health officer?

Conservatives have done the Republic a grave disservice by heaping abuse on those, like Surgeon General Koop, who have refused to join in the general AIDS hysteria, and instead are working to contain the spread of the disease. I am reminded of the story of St. Theresa being stuck in the mud in a rainstorm. She looked to the heavens and told God, "If this is the way you treat your friends, it is no wonder that you have so few of them."

Sincerely,
JOHN WOOLMAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Employment Opportunities

NATIONAL PRO-LIFE evangelical organization seeks director of development for fundraising: PR and fundraising skills required. Good salary and benefits. Send résumé to: Tom Glessner, Christian Action Council, 401 W. Broad Street, #405, Falls Church, Va. 22046.

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF DEVELOPMENT: the Media Research Center, an organization dedicated to documenting the liberal bias in both electronic and print media, is seeking a highly motivated, creative, and dynamic fundraiser to be a part of its team. Must have general knowledge of fundraising techniques. Salary commensurate with experience. Send résumé and three references to: Kathleen Neville, MRC, 111 S. Columbus Street, Alexandria, Va. 22314.

STOCKBROKER TRAINEE: leading investment firm seeks enthusiastic, hard-working college graduates for trainee position with tremendous potential for management opportunities. Send résumé to Box 171, Huntington Station, N.Y. 11746.

For Sale

WARY OF COMPLICATED graphing programs? Announcing dPICT. dPICT is expressly designed to be easy to use. Type two words; in three minutes you see four presentations of your dBASE data. Pick one. That's all. Requires IBM PC or IBM-compatible unit. $29.95, plus $3 handling, until March 31; Calif. residents add 6 per cent sales tax. PTS, 1581 Garland Avenue, Tustin, Calif. 92680.

HAND-PAINTED ICONS, Romanesque-Gothic paintings. $1 for brochure. Studio Didymus, Box 481, River Forest, Ill. 60305.

LAMINATED PLACEMAT MAPS of United States or world. $3 each, any four for $10, plus $1.50 shipping. Guaranteed. M. Ruskin, Box 1215, Dept. NR4, New York, N.Y. 10268.

THE AWARD-WINNING Adam Smith necktie—gold on navy blue or gold on burgundy. $22.50, postage paid. VISA and MasterCard. The Decatur Shop, One Decatur Place, North Adams, Mich. 49262-0277. Telephone 517-287-5888.

Ph.D.s ON SALE: now as low as $12 for a Fergle doctorate (plus T-shirt) during our giant Fergle-A-Thon. In disciplines like creative accounting, loophole jurisprudence, sumo wrestling, advanced shopping, and 34 other areas. For free catalogue call Fergle University, 800-323-7044.

POWERFUL BURGLARY DETERRENT: 2¼" × 3½", quality vinyl, self-adhesive warning decal. Apply inside window facing out. Professional appearance. Nationally appropriate. $1 each; 10 or more decals, $0.80 each. Complete satisfaction or immediate refund. The Lakeland Works, P.O. Box 230X, Pompton Lakes, N.J. 07442.

Literary

TRAVELERS from an Antique Land: 41 Gaelic aphorisms with translations and commentary. Send $2 to RGS, Box 8372, Swissvale, Pa. 15218.

OLD BOOKSCOUT locates out-of-print books. Write "Greenmantle," P.O. Box 1178NR, Culpeper, Va. 22701-6324.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS: Buckley, Kirk, Solzhenitsyn, Evans, Muggeridge, etc. Send addressed, stamped envelope for list. Partisan Books, Box 549, Iowa City, Iowa 52244.

CONSERVATIVE BOOKS: lists issued, free search service. CML Books, RR 1, #92, Elverson, Pa. 19520.

TIRED OF the Social Gospel? Send for free copy of monthly paper dedicated to traditional Eastern Orthodox Christianity—articles on spiritual life, lives of saints, teachings of the Holy Fathers, contemporary issues. Readable. Orthodox America, Box 2132-B, Redding, Calif. 96099.

Situations Wanted

BLACK CONSERVATIVE seeks position in organization or political campaign utilizing experience in public relations, research, Capitol Hill lobbying, international affairs. B.A. in English/Communications. J.D. candidate. Single. Will relocate. NR Box 6014.

RECENT UNIVERSITY OF INDIANA School of Law graduate (J.D.), Purdue University honors graduate (B.A., history), seeks any white-collar employment in Chicago area. Legal experience as law clerk and with railroad. Strong writing and research background. NR Box 6012.

DECEMBER GRADUATE of St. John's University, Minn., with B.A. in government, seeks entry-level position in Washington, D.C. Experience as Capitol Hill intern, features editor of college newspaper, and bank collector. For résumé and writing sample, contact NR Box 6005.

RECENT M.A. in international relations, graduate-level teaching assistant, with management experience: seeks position with conservative and/or international organization. Articulate, motivated. NR Box 6004.

EFFICIENT, ADAPTABLE Texas lady desires honest, challenging employment. Background in oil, gas, agricultural work. Non-smoker. Can manage office, home, estate. Can work alone or with others. Résumé, references on request. NR Box 6001.

CONSERVATIVE, MIDDLE-AGED male desires employment in motel field with option to buy out in future. Presently teaching. Call collect: Morgan Smith, 609-625-5324, evenings; 215-353-7420, weekends. Or NR Box 6018.

Vacation

OLD-FASHIONED, SECLUDED FARM on Cape Breton Island offers log cabins, excellent meals, tranquillity, and discount to *NR* readers. Write: John Gardner, Orangedale, Nova Scotia, Canada.

FLORIDA CONDO near Disney World: 2 bedrooms, 2 baths, hot tub, pool, tennis, golf, daily/weekly rates. 314-487-0184.

BE GUESTS in our remote lakeside home inside gates of the Arctic National Park in Alaska's Brooks Range. Hiking, rafting, canoeing, fishing, photography. To personalize your wilderness adventure, we host only one or two people at a time. Adventuresome senior citizens welcome. Hosts: university professor, teacher wife. NR Box 5081.

Services

ARCHITECT, San Francisco Bay area, specializing in fine homes and churches. Call 415-841-5933 for information or brochure.

BUSINESS CONSULTANTS specializing in: business planning, corporate strategies, economic models, econometrics, transportation. Write NR Box 6008.

CORPORATE TAX CONSULTANT. Experience in IRS auditing and tax planning. Former director of tax department for major corporation. Write NR Box 6009.

National Review Accepts . . .

classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature. Invitations to personal relationships must specify at least 3 interests. National Review does not accept classified political advertisements of any kind, or advertisements that are solicitations for funds. National Review reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason. Rates per insertion: $1.00 per word, minimum 10 words, plus $2.25 for box number. Frequency discounts: 4 times, 90¢ per word; 6 times, 85¢ per word; 8 times or more, 80¢ per word. Text accompanied by full payment must be received 35 days before cover date. Responses to box numbers will be forwarded. Address Classified Director, National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York 10016.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

DAVE BERRY:

The Top Story

The Hart story becomes so hot that issue-oriented Phil Donahue devotes a show to it, canceling the regular weekly appearance of the sex-change, lesbian, surrogate-mother, nude-dancer ex-priests.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW-YORK-BASED ATTORNEYS—literate, competent, intelligent. Securities, investments, trials. Write NR Box 5019.

INVESTIGATIONS: have computer, will travel. Discreet, sophisticated investigations. How much do you know about that proposed business partner, spouse? Sleep better. Background, witness location, accidents, estates. Fully licensed and bonded. David Barrett and Associates, 33 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10003. 212-777-6085.

Real Estate

NORTH SAN DIEGO COUNTY 19.96-acre Hass avocado grove. Approximately 600 lime trees, between 6 and 8 years old. Income potential with tax advantage. $299,500. Agent: Charlotte Lash, Coldwell Banker, Zenovic Realty. 619-728-5757.

WOULD LIKE TO BUY Oregon seashore residence in tranquil area. Or will exchange for 200-year-old Virginia country home with acreage near bustling area. NR Box 5091.

MONTANA: life in the slow lane. Glacier Park. Water. 4-season sports. Retreats, income property, ranches. Teakettle Realty, Box 355, Columbia Falls, Mont. 59912. 406-892-2177.

Educational Opportunities

HATE MATH word problems? Get *Not Just Another Algebra Book*, $14.95; study guide, $8.95. David Williams Algebra Tutoring, 505 Hollywood Drive, Knoxville, Tenn. 37919.

SCHOLARSHIPS/GRANTS for college. You can qualify! Rush name for free information and forms: Scholarships, 600-E Sumner, Belford, N.J. 07718.

UNIVERSITY DEGREES at home. Convenient, inexpensive, accredited. Write: Kensam, Box 1383-NR6, Far Rockaway, N.Y. 11691.

Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE. Nationwide link between unattached music lovers. CMLE, Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA freelance writer, 39, with small ranch in wine country, looking for marvelous girl who wants three or four kids, old-fashioned family life. Taste for books, ideas, Zinfandel essential. NR Box 6007.

CATHOLIC? Interested in corresponding with eligible Catholic women in the Far East? Information: Philippine Correspondence Club, Floroy Initiatives, Dept. A, P.O. Box 16198, Austin, Tex. 78761.

ROLE REVERSAL: male, 59, pensioned, solvent, educated, unencumbered, tractable. Interests: literature, music, animals, Albion. Will provide all domestic support, services for positive, strong, active lady in exchange for affection, direction, apron. NR Box 6013.

HANDSOME ATTORNEY, 38, loves baseball, tennis, jogging. Interests include conservative politics, dining adventures, dancing, lots of fun and laughter. Seeks pretty lady who enjoys being best friends, someone who knows what she wants, and who wants to meet someone like me. NR Box 6006.

SCANDINAVIA-U.S.A.-AUSTRALIA: network of members seeking enlightened correspondence, lasting friendship. Scanna, Box 4-HNR, Pittsford, N.Y. 14534.

MASSACHUSETTS-BASED, Franco-Irish practicing Catholic: single, conservative male, 29, 5'11", handsome, witty, fit, non-smoking, non-drinking marketing-arts director whose interests include Beatles music, Hitchcock films, dining out, dancing, and Trivial Pursuit—seeks attractive, practicing-Catholic professional woman who is humorous, assertive, and imaginative, with similar/complementary interests. Photo preferred, please. NR Box 5093.

TALL, BLONDE, WHITE female professional, 38, Christian, still wearily seeking companion (for life?). Loves animals, nature, travel, sports, all music. Would like to meet good match with same interests, 30-48, Washington, D.C., to New York area. Recent photo please. NR Box 6015.

QUITE ATTRACTIVE, witty, wealthy, and well-bred gentleman, 28, enjoys *NR*, sailing, and lively conversation—wishes to meet ebullient, caring, cultured young lady of means. Photo and letter to NR Box 5098.

MASSACHUSETTS PROFESSIONAL, 39, Roman Catholic gentleman, never married, with interests in sports (golf and tennis), literature, theology, writing, Cape Cod and rural New England, reading (classics, Chesterton, Lewis, *NR*, *L'Osservatore Romano*, etc.). Would very much enjoy introduction to pleasing Christian lady (25-38) of integrity, virtue, wit, and traditional sensibilities for most noble and chivalrous of reasons. NR Box 6016.

UPSTATE N.Y. ENGINEER, dark and attractive, moral. Interests: drawing and painting, outdoors, classical music, Europe. Seeks conservative, Midwestern-type female, 25-35. Box 69, Rexford, N.Y. 12148.

CULTURED, WELL-BRED, pretty Vero Beach lady enjoys sports, biographies, painting. Will relocate between Florida and Princeton, N.J., area for college-educated, marriageable gentleman over 63. Box 2251, Vero Beach, Fla. 32961.

SOUTHERN ARTIST, youthful, early 40s, conservative values. Interests include Cajun cooking; "antiquing"; animals; classical music; country living; reading T. S. Eliot, WFB. Seeks single lady, 22-40, for romance, even marriage. NR Box 5096.

ADVENTURE is a state of mind for Midwest widow, late 50s, tall, slender, own career, academic milieu, peripatetic, liturgical tradition. Treasures insights gained through shared travel, Bach, reading (broad spectrum), theater, quiet walks and talks. NR Box 6002.

AN INTELLIGENT WAY to meet others—for hobbies, sports, correspondence, friendship, vacations—members nearby and 90 countries worldwide. Electronic Exchange, P.O. Box 68-N1, Manhattan Beach, Calif. 90266.

ARE YOU CULTURED and single? Single Booklovers was started in 1970 to help cultured singles get acquainted through a monthly national newsletter. Write SBL, Box 117NR, Gradyville, Pa. 19039, or call 215-358-5049.

PROFESSOR, 34, healthy, handsome, Victorian; loves hiking, writing, philosophizing, travel; self-knowing rather than worldly-wise; seeks same in pretty, highly principled girl. Intentions honorable. NR Box 5088.

TALL, EUROPEAN, Ivy League blonde, interested in travel, art, riding, and sailing. Seeks educated, easy-going man with a sense of humor. NR Box 6011.

Miscellaneous

SPIRITUAL RENEWAL in Appalachian retreat. Discussions of Fénelon, Law, and Wesley. Meditative walks in nature, and devotional periods. Married couples, $400. 5:00 P.M. Friday to 3:00 P.M. Sunday: April through October, 1989.

1, 2, 4 COLOR PRINTING: free catalogue, samples, $100 in coupons. Flashprint, 35-RE Bath Street, Ballston Spa, N.Y. 12020.

ONE-MINUTE BIBLE meditations, 24 hours a day. Church of One-at-a-Time. 313-258-5446.

FREE INTRODUCTORY ISSUE of new interfaith journal for scholars and students of religion. Write to: *Dialogue & Alliance*, Dept. NR, JAF Box 1186, New York, N.Y. 10116.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS IN DEPTH. Send full page of writing and $20 to Elisabeth King, 121 Madison Avenue, 3A, New York, N.Y. 10016.

SERIOUS BIBLE STUDY in Manhattan, Presbyterian-Reformed perspective. Tuesday evenings; also, Wall Street lunchtime study. Information: 718-332-4444.

1,000,000 VIDEO MOVIES! Catalogue, $1. RTS/NR, Box 1829, Novato, Calif. 94948.

CONSERVATIVE DISCUSSION GROUP—Philadelphia area. Like to read *NR* but have no one to discuss it with? A friendly fellowship (non-denominational) to expand our intellectual horizons. We discuss Augustine to Falwell, books to movies. Fourth Friday every month: 7:30 P.M. Call 215-576-7008.

NICARAGUAN FREEDOM FOUNDATION: specializing in supplying medicines, pharmaceuticals to those who have sacrificed to promote democracy in Nicaragua. This is your opportunity to assist the Contras and participate personally in establishing civil liberty. We absolutely guarantee correct delivery. For a precise list of medical requirements, write Jack J. Goehring III (formerly Captain, U.S. Army, Vietnam), Law Offices, 1005 Spring Hill Road, McLean, Va. 22102.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TOMORROW IN TAIWAN

NEW YORK, JAN. 22

THE DEATH of Chiang Ching-kuo ("CCK," the international community has always called him) directs attention to assumptions about the Taiwan-China situation that Father Time has frazzled.

1. The first of these, of course, was that Taiwan would one day liberate Red China. During the very early Sixties, serious observers—for instance Charles J. V. Murphy, who died only a week ago—thought they could foresee a breakdown in Mao China: a military insurrection, aided by a Taiwanese beachhead—leading to the liberation of all of China.

It didn't happen, and it didn't come near to happening. What did happen was the opening to China inaugurated by President Nixon. Four years after the Nixon trip, Mao Tse-tung was dead, and one month after that, the Gang of Four was seized, and the reforms we all acknowledge and applaud were undertaken under Hua and Deng. It is simply not known what would happen if those reforms were vitiated, and 100-proof Maoism returned.

Here is how the future looked to CCK when, almost exactly ten years ago, I interviewed him in Taiwan.

"I predict that before too long there will be a deep malcontent going on in the Chinese Communist regime," he said, "just like the de-Stalinization campaign. . . . After Mao's death, the Chinese Communist regime cannot have firm control in all parts of China; neither Hua Guofeng nor Deng Xiaoping, or any of the other leaders has that ability. . . . In the future, the Chinese mainland will be disintegrated. There will be different power groups appearing on the mainland, some of them having contact with us. So this is the general scenario I foresee for our recovery of the mainland."

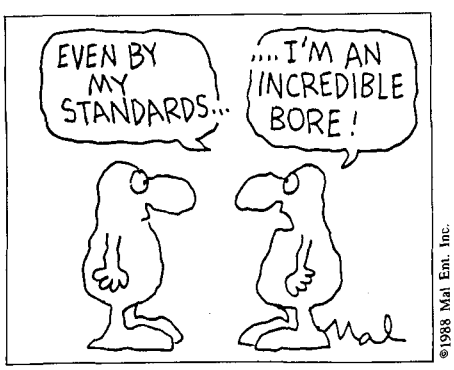
2. During the Seventies, CCK and Taiwan suffered their great humiliation. It came in two stages. First, Taiwan was kicked out of the United Nations, a move our representative there at the time, Ambassador George Bush, was not able to prevent. The second humiliation was our own doing: President Jimmy Carter summoned the Taiwanese ambassador, so to speak in the middle of the night, and told him to get out.

It was widely suspected that the boycott of Taiwan would have a terminal effect on its role in the world. The big airlines began boycotting it; embassies were withdrawn; Taiwan was even prevented from sending its athletes to the Olympics in Canada. Objectively, it seemed as though diplomatic, economic, and cultural isolation would topple the regime.

That did not happen. The United States stumbled upon a deception that gave us, in effect, diplomatic representation in Taiwan. And the graduated reforms of CCK combined with the industry and energy of the people to create a super mini-power. It is estimated that, next year, Taiwan will export $100 billion worth of goods.

3. Far from demanding with increasing truculence the return of Taiwan to Mainland China, the government of Deng let the matter . . . cool. There was never any suggestion that Taiwan was other than a province of the mainland. But the matter was not pressed to the point of increased hostilities. And in the past few years, CCK even permitted some Chinese living in Taiwan to visit the homeland.

It is a wonderful paradox we will now be seeing, during the period of official mourning. The Taiwanese will dutifully mourn the son of the leader of the Kuomintang movement, the pretender to the throne of China. The Red Chinese, it is predicted, will seek not to antagonize the Taiwan leadership. Peking's motives are obvious: It does not wish to give encouragement to the movement within Taiwan for independence. If Peking now treats CCK as a departed native, the forces in Taipei that will stress and restress the unity of the two countries will be reinforced.



But the great myth, with the end of CCK, is now over. It was in 1895 that the Japanese occupied Taiwan. It was liberated in 1945. For only four years it was restored to China—the China ruled by Chiang Kai-shek. Its resident population is 84 per cent Taiwanese; its president, selected by CCK, is Taiwanese in origin. "You mentioned," CCK said to me in 1977, "the possibility of Taiwan being a separate political entity. The residents, the Chinese people in Taiwan, know very well that this alternative would mean self-destruction for them. They would not take this course of action."

They would resist it, but the time is clearly at hand to blow the cobwebs of the One China mystique to one side. Acclaim Taiwan's independence, formalize our own relations with it, and hope that some day, what Chiang Kai-shek and CCK did for Taiwan, the successors to Deng will do for the mainland. □

REMEMBERING ISRAEL

NEW YORK, JAN. 20

IT HAPPENS to the American public time and again, that creeping lesion of interest. Africa was a case in point. For a few feverish years after the decolonization of Ghana, the day's news was full of what was going on in Nigeria, and in Kenya, and in Rhodesia, Guinea, Madagascar, Mozambique . . . And then suddenly—I'd put it at about 1966-69—Africa slowly slipped out of the news. There were several reasons for this. The first was that the bright post-colonial picture, about which so many high-flown speeches had been given, declined to materialize. There are a few candid people prepared after thirty years to say that Ghana was better off under the British, and Indochina under the French. But mostly such types keep quiet, because to say that kind of thing is to run the risk of ethnocentrism. So, we just say very little, and the national attention wanders.

The formal attention of the United States Government can't wander very much in the case of the Mideast because it is the energy fulcrum of the world. "Give me a pipeline long enough to reach the Persian Gulf," Archimedes might have said, "and I will replace the human muscle." But already

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one can see that the attention of the American public is flagging. How many days will CBS News feature yesterday's roundelay in the West Bank or in Gaza? The deportation of nine terrorists from the West Bank has been made to sound like the nearest thing to the Exodus. If it were made to sound like anything less, it wouldn't qualify for mention at all.

And the polemical lines on both sides are becoming paralyzingly familiar. Mr. Morris Abram, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish organizations, has a short-form way of putting the Israeli position: "Show me a prestigious Arab leader who wants to make peace with Israel, and they can have Gaza." But there is the other position, held nowadays by some American Jews, expressed in opposition to Mr. Abram the other day by Rita Hauser, the prominent attorney and stateswoman: "Israel runs the risk of losing its soul." She meant by this that democracy is one of the ideals with which Israel is associated. But Israel is right now engaged in colonizing the West Bank, never mind that Israelis are outnumbered there ten to one. And there are no plans, warns Miss Hauser, to give equal rights to Arabs.

It is, of course, the basis of Rabbi Kahane's Kach Party. Its battle-cry is: Expel the Arabs. The justification: They breed faster than Jews breed or immigrate and therefore, if we give them equal rights, this will cease to be a Jewish state within twenty years.

And the statistics tend to bear him out. A projection of current population growth tells us that within pre-1967 Israel, Arabs will outnumber Jews by the year 2020. How can one view with equanimity the looming arrival of aliens who will alter the character of a homeland that is a part of the millennial vision of world Jewry?

THE PROBLEMS of Israel close in on many frontiers, but the first of these is indeed the survival of the Israeli state. And this can be assured only by extra-constitutional declarations of a sort that remove from the voters any right to alter the basic character of the state. We do not have scheduled elections in America on the Bill of Rights, even though we retain the hypothetical authority to repeal it. By the same token, Israel must, while incorporating its Arab population into its citizenry, remove forever any temptation to alter the basic architecture of the state.

This having been done, the quarrel at the geographic frontiers assumes prominence. The Israelis' insistence that there is no one out there with whom to deal is persuasive. But it will not settle their problem. They stand to suffer from attrition. It is too exhausting, as many Israelis are already complaining, to impose curfews on hundreds of thousands of Arabs, police their activities, superintend their education, penetrate their street gangs: year after year after year. Ingenious leadership is in order. And any working solution will need to distinguish plausibly between Israel's desire for physical security, and Israel's desire to expand to far Biblical reaches.

It takes two to negotiate, granted; but Israel's diplomatic failure is in giving the impression that until King Hussein or someone steps forward to anoint the State of Israel, well, Israel can't do anything except —more of the same.

More of the same, I predict, will lose Israel, over time, the basic sympathy one feels for it. □

CONSERVATIVE LEADERSHIP? NOT NOW

NEW YORK, JAN. 18

THOSE WHO are saying that there is confusion among American conservatives are correct, and the reasons for this are obvious for the most part. The old saw about the public corporation's annual report is relevant: it is compared to the bikini, revealing much that is interesting, and hiding all that is important.

The easiest way to handle American politics is always by personalizations. Thus it is said of Barry Goldwater that he anthropomorphized U.S. conservatism during the early Sixties. Everything about him, not excluding his face and certainly not excluding his manner, was the amiable but jut-jawed conservative rejection of Eastern Seaboard Liberal Republicanism. We had a candidate who would go to Florida to preach against Social Security, to Tennessee to question the claims of the Tennessee Valley Authority, to West Virginia to argue against the Depressed Areas Bill. He lost very big, but the historians who proceeded to write off not only him but his movement (for instance, Richard Rovere and Arthur Schlesinger Jr.) lifted their heads from the sand only just in time to catch . . .

Ronald Reagan. Reagan was a more skillful politician than Goldwater, and he ran in a more auspicious season. By the time Reagan was going at full throttle, Nelson Rockefeller had been beaten as a Republican presidential aspirant, and LBJ had presided over an unsuccessful war his moderate-Republican successor, Richard Nixon, had not been able to conclude successfully. The hiatus gave the American people a President from Georgia who was ambiguous where he should have been resolute, and resolute where he should have been ambiguous.

They are saying now that there is no clearly anointed successor to Goldwater-Reagan, and in this respect observers are correct. But they are correct in ways not entirely discouraging to conservatives. As Jody Powell put it recently, they see much that is clearly conservative in the policies adopted by George Bush and Bob Dole, the leading candidates; and in those pursued, most doggedly, by Jack Kemp, Pat Robertson, and Pete du Pont.

Now, Professor Schlesinger made a shrewd point along the line, which is that many Americans think of themselves as conservatives for so long as liberal policies are being practiced. There is no doubt that farmers enjoy subsidies; businessmen, protectionism; the elderly, Social Security and Medicare; the young, federal aid to education. An argument can be made that this is why we visit upon ourselves, time after time, the paradox so graphically displayed in November of 1984 when 60 per cent of the American people, controlling the electoral vote in 49 states, sent Reagan to Washington, while at the same time sending to Washington a House of Representatives 60 per cent of whose members belonged to a party officially opposed to the doctrines of Ronald Reagan.

That paradox can be celebrated in hypothetical disquisitions on the distribution of power. But, in the practical world, it is presenting the Republic with problems so grave as to confront us with elemental disturbances. Any way you look at it, our foreign policy is a mess. We have no consolidated position on the question of whether Nicaragua can be permitted to become a member of the Warsaw Pact. And we have a Republican President for whose disarmament policies we find enthusiasm primarily among Democratic officials. The INF treaty is one of those searing mythogenic symbols: its floor leader, in the United States Senate, is Alan Cranston, with whom it is safe to say that the President who signed the treaty has just about nothing in common.

What then of the conservative agenda in the months ahead? Who can articulate it?

The guess, from this cockpit, is that no one can do this charismatically in 1988. What is needed is the crystallization of a demand for generic reform. The Chief Executive needs to command the presumptive loyalty of Congress in pursuit of rational foreign-policy objectives. The anarchy in Congress needs to be tamed by decisive party discipline and by a bipartisan war against vested-interest, lowest-common-denominator politics. The revalidation of the notion that a moral line can be drawn between right and wrong needs to survive an assault that such lines cannot be drawn under the First Amendment.

That probably will require us to muddle our way through the next period. To hit bottom, as they say about alcoholics, before the need fully gestates to rise again. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

DEFINITIONS

A. Half of a European city? (2 words)
166 35 6 148 135 118 58 108 94 21

B. Skull (hyph.)
106 172 124 168 72 23 130 37 4 51

C. Vichy resource
16 57 129 150 88

D. Art-for-art's-sake type
39 131 66 110 13 179 79 157

E. Popular high-school hangout
114 69 95 165 46 139 17 28

F. Fathom, e.g.
87 105 170 133 178

G. One of a few good men
174 42 63 177 34 127 74 99 2 138 104

H. West African state (2 words)
89 144 171 9 52 36 141 109 78 26

I. Time of innocence
137 83 70 115 156 32 10 45 100

J. Officer of the court
67 41 27 176 121 90 112 5

K. Scabbard
101 19 56 162 125 76

L. Carve a duck
92 123 145 12 175 61 29

M. Benedictine offshoot
7 38 147 117 53 24 169 164

N. "___ with her suburbs." (1 Chr. 6:73)
142 47 102 134 15 80

O. Candidate from Churchill Downs? (2 words)
54 84 146 96 111 33 153 3 73

P. Northern California peak
143 48 173 65 158 107

Q. Caught from behind
120 151 160 132 71 60 91 81 8

R. Dream
44 136 126 18 155 59 82

S. Weak (hyph.)
62 163 119 25 97 31 77 149 1 55

T. A league
128 85 68

U. John Denver sang its praises
167 49 140 40 93 113 30 14

V. Noted duck
43 98 11 161 64

W. Former
103 50 152 122 20 180 86

X. Power
154 116 22 159 75

1 S	2 G		3 O	4 B	5 J	6 A		7 M	8 Q	9 H		10 I	11 V		12 L	13 D	14 U		15 N	16 C
17 E		18 R	19 K	20 W	21 A	22 X	23 B		24 M	25 S	26 H	27 J		28 E	29 L	30 U		31 S	32 I	33 O
	34 G	35 A	36 H	37 B		38 M	39 D	40 U	41 J	42 G	43 V		44 R	45 I	46 E		47 N		48 P	49 U
50 W	51 B	52 H	53 M	54 O		55 S	56 K	57 C	58 A	59 R		60 Q	61 L	62 S	63 G	64 V	65 P		66 D	67 J
68 T		69 E	70 I	71 Q	72 B	73 O	74 G		75 X	76 K	77 S	78 H		79 D	80 N	81 Q	82 R		83 I	84 O
85 T	86 W		87 F	88 C	89 H	90 J	91 Q		92 L	93 U	94 A	95 E	96 O	97 S		98 V	99 G	100I		101K
102N	103W	104G	105F	106B		107P	108A	109H		110D	111O	112J	113U	114E		115I	116X	117M	118A	119S
	120Q	121J		122W	123L	124B	125K		126R	127G	128T	129C	130B	131D	132Q		133F	134N	135A	136R
137I	138G	139E		140U	141H	142N		143P	144H	145L	146O	147M	148A	149S		150C	151Q	152W	153O	
154X	155R	156I	157D		158P	159X	160Q		161V	162K	163S	164M	165E	166A	167U	168B		169M	170F	171H
172B	173P	174G		175L	176J		177G	178F	179D	180W										

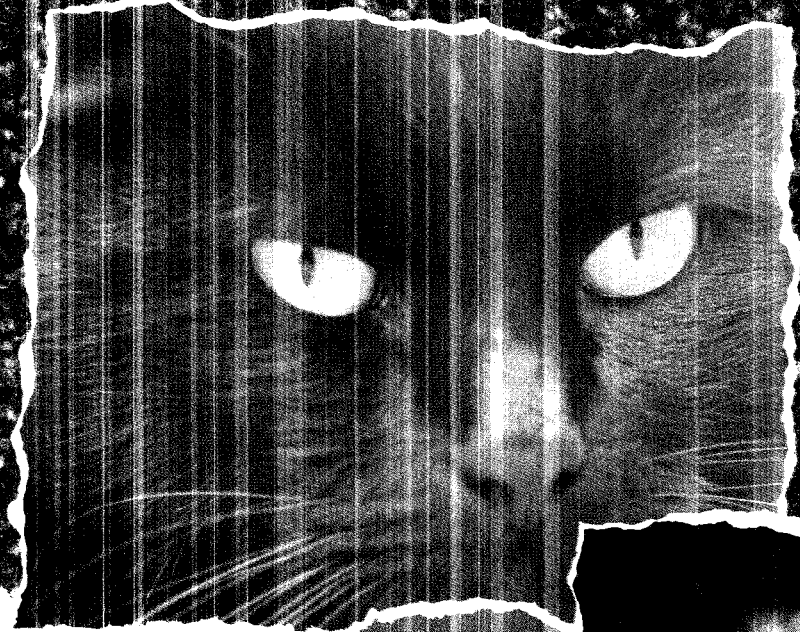
DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 62 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PREMIER VISION

Black Magic™ from Premier Vision.™ Six designs crafted with incomparable wizardry. To boldly define tomorrow's decor for others to follow.



The brilliance of black, projected as one of tomorrow's key fashion interior colors, intricately patterned with unparalleled precision and clarity. Black Magic, sister group of the award-winning Symphony in Grey™ collection. The newest demonstration of Milliken's steadfast commitment to leadership, achieved by an uncanny ability to forecast and design the future ...advanced technology such as exclusive MicroTex™ computer-aided dye injection... enduring, soil-resistant fibers including bonded, cut-pile DuPont Antron Precedent™ Nylon... and a touch of Black Magic.

MILLIKEN

©1986 Design Copyright—Milliken & Company

Institute of Business Designers
IBD
and Contract Magazine
Product Design Award
1987 Silver Award

ANTRON PRECEDENT™ NYLON

BY MILLIKEN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When you spend 2,922 days mellowing in an oak barrel, you're very, very sociable once you get out.

WILD TURKEY

8 years old, 101 proof, pure Kentucky.

TO SEND A GIFT OF WILD TURKEY®/101 PROOF ANYWHERE* CALL 1-800-CHEER UP. *EXCEPT WHERE PROHIBITED. KENTUCKY STRAIGHT BOURBON WHISKEY. ALC. BY VOL. 50.5%. AUSTIN NICHOLS DISTILLING CO., LAWRENCEBURG, KY © 1987

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED